

# The Canadian Historical Review

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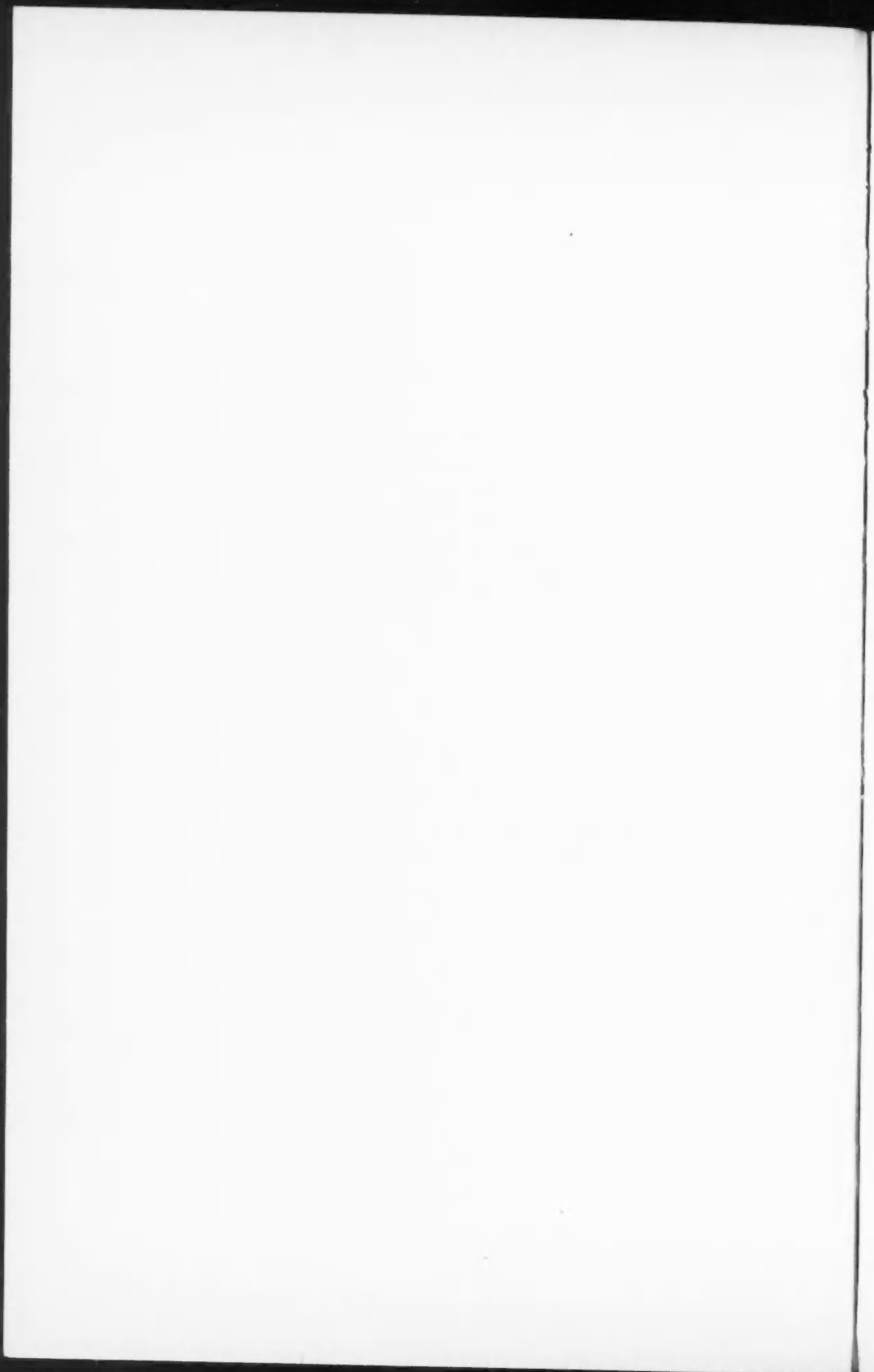
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## THE EXTERMINATION OF THE BUFFALO IN WESTERN CANADA

THE extermination of the plains buffalo in the north-western United States and in western Canada (as a wild species roaming in freedom) occurred, broadly, between 1876 and 1883. The "southern herd", as it was generally termed, after its virtual separation by the building of the Union Pacific Railway along the valley of the Platte River about 1867, was for all practical purposes extinguished in 1875, after some five seasons of terrific and shockingly wasteful slaughter. Contemporary opinion seems to have felt no uncertainty in ascribing this to the hide-hunters—principally white—in both the northern and southern buffalo range. This is open to serious doubt. Even after allowing for Indian "wastefulness", which has been much (and sometimes preposterously) exaggerated, and for the ordinary demands of the fur-trade before the advent of railways, the evidence does not indicate that the buffalo could have been exterminated in any such short time by the meagre red and white population of the territory west of the Mississippi. The Red River hunt was somewhat different; but, even in this case, it was much of the nature of a movement on the buffalo "flank" so to speak—a movement which pushed the buffalo westward and stripped the territory between Red River and the line approximately of 107° west; which was roughly their eastern boundary at the time of their extermination in Canada.

The dramatic suddenness of the disappearance of the buffalo is possibly the reason why other theories than that of extermination by man have more recently been advanced to account for the event. Perhaps the most remarkable of these is that of decimation by some form of epidemic disease. The purpose of this paper is, first, to present such information concerning disease as I have been able to discover, and then to examine the historical evidence which throws light on the extermination of the buffalo by slaughter.

## I

## BUFFALO AND DISEASE

The following extract appeared in the press some months ago:

'Mister' Hemorrhagic Septicæmia Real Villain Among Noble Bison:—Cloverdale, B.C., Jan. 16 [1932]: It now develops that the vast herds of buffalo which once roamed western plains were not entirely wiped out by avaricious hunters. The real villain in the piece has just been discovered.

Dr. E. A. Bruce, dominion pathologist, Agassiz experimental farm, revealed to British Columbia dairymen, in the course of an address, that the noble bison may have been killed off almost to the point of extinction by a dread disease which is to-day taking fierce toll of herds and flocks throughout the continent.

Hemorrhagic septicæmia is the name given to a germ which flourishes in unclean barn-yards, filthy hog wallows, and neglected hen houses, ramshackle sheep corrals, and insanitary rabbit hutches.<sup>1</sup>

This suggestion is of interest since, if established, it would—as the quotation intimates—overthrow a commonly accepted tradition.<sup>2</sup>

It has long been recognized by students of the subject that man was not the buffalo's only enemy; and, according to such authorities as Dr. Elliott Coues,<sup>3</sup> "Buffalo Jones",<sup>4</sup> and Ernest Thompson Seton,<sup>5</sup> he was not even the worst. Its principal (non-human) foes were snow, ice in lakes and rivers, fires, bogs and quicksands, and wolves; and we have a considerable amount of first-hand evidence which records their visible or estimated effects upon the buffalo. Now I think that not only Dr. Bruce, but most careful inquirers, would agree that any epidemic (or endemic) disease which slew a sufficient number of the species to constitute an appreciable force in their extermination, would

<sup>1</sup>Edmonton journal, Jan. 16, 1932; and doubtless elsewhere.

Since this paper was written, I find the following; whether Mr. Soper's investigations into buffalo diseases were stimulated by Dr. Bruce's suggestion, or not, I cannot say. "Fort Smith, N.W.T. June 6 [1932]:—Starting out on horseback to explore the wilderness of the buffalo reserve at Ft. Smith, with scientific study of the habits and diseases of the buffalo as his objective, J. Dewey Soper, noted naturalist, left Fort Smith this week" (Edmonton journal, June 6, 1932).

<sup>2</sup>E. Thompson Seton, *Life histories of northern animals* (New York, 1909), I, 267: "Epidemic disease seems to have been unknown" amongst them. No other student says anything whatever about this, so far as I have seen.

<sup>3</sup>E. Coues (ed.), *New light on the early history of the greater North-west: The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson* (New York, 1897), I, 174, note.

<sup>4</sup>H. Inman (ed.), *Buffalo Jones' forty years of adventure* (London, 1899), 248, "Wolves their worst enemy"; H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson (eds.), *Life of Father de Smet* (New York, 1905), I, 205, II, 603; Seton, *Life-histories of northern animals*, I, 270.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 267-271, 274.

leave some record of its ravages in the form of dead carcasses in large quantities, and in places where the animals had obviously neither been drowned, nor piled in the "coulées" only—as if smothered by snow, nor burned. Nor can I see reasonable ground for supposing that such a disease would make its appearance only for the first time among the last generation of the buffalo, when the supposed causes must have prevailed for ages. If the ravages were either occasional or roughly periodical (as with the rabbits in the west), it is incredible that some one of our many witnesses would not have seen—or even been told of—such large numbers of dead buffalo at some time. In the course of a fairly full examination of historical evidence concerning buffalo in their historic habitat from Mexico to Great Slave Lake, from Georgia to British Columbia, and, perhaps, from California to Lake Champlain, during three hundred and fifty years (some hundreds of documents having been examined), I have found just one reference to buffalo and disease, which curiously enough is in Canada; it was written by Dr. Hector in 1858:

Near our camp we found some old buffalo dung, and the Indians told us that not many years ago there were many of these animals along the valley of the North Saskatchewan, within the mountains. Eleven years ago, they say, there were great fires all through the mountains, and in the woods along their eastern base; and after that a disease broke out among all the animals, so that they used to find wapiti, moose, and other deer, as well as buffalo, lying dead in numbers. Before that time [say about 1847] there was abundance of game in all parts of the country; but since then there has been great scarcity of animals, and only the best hunters can make sure of killing. I have heard the same description of the sudden change that took place in the abundance of game from half-breed hunters in different parts of the country; so there is little doubt that there is some foundation for the account given by the Indians. . . .<sup>6</sup>

I do not desire to belittle myself by attempting to belittle Hector. I imagine that few students have had occasion to utilize the *Palliser papers* without recognizing a deep indebtedness to such a cautious and reliable observer. But he was a transient visitor, debarred in the nature of things from the wide accumulation of comparative data on the buffalo from which alone sound inductions can be formed; and dependent sometimes upon reckless generalizations, of which I suspect this to be an instance.

In the entire absence of positive corroborative evidence concerning the effects of disease, it is worth while to ask what light,

<sup>6</sup>Dr. Hector, Upper North Saskatchewan River, Sept., 1858, in *Journals, reports, etc., of the Palliser expedition, 1857-1860* (London, 1863), 111.

if any, is thrown on the problem by the general history of the territory, and what evidence there is regarding the effects of disease on other animals in this region, at, or previous to, the time in question.

I am decidedly sceptical concerning the disease which, according to the evidence given Hector, followed the prairie fires, and attacked "all the animals". The disease which periodically kills off the rabbits ("every seven years", as commonly believed) is confined to rabbits, so far as observation can reveal. The great epidemic of "swamp fever" (gleet) and glanders, of 1901, which almost exterminated the valuable imported horses of northern Alberta (particularly new arrivals of the "first generation"), affected the hardy, native, range-bred horses<sup>7</sup> comparatively little; and the cattle not at all. Analogous evidence seems to be furnished by the well-known case of the *tsetse* fly in southern and equatorial Africa. It is well known that to the African buffalo, the bite of the *tsetse* was harmless; while to the domestic ox it was speedily fatal. John Mackenzie, the missionary colleague of Moffat and Livingstone, recorded fifty years ago that his Bechuana hunters—with something of a sneer—used to ask "the white man who knew everything" to explain this difference in two animals whose tracks they themselves could not distinguish (both are of the genus *Bos*).<sup>8</sup> It seems to a mere layman more probable that the danger and the "impartiality" of *hemorrhagic septicæmia* lies in the *confinement* of animals in filthy pens—itself a wholly unnatural existence. From such local or occasional potential plague-spots the wild buffalo could readily escape.

I am equally dubious of the statement made to Hector that the epidemic followed the fires. It is almost agreed that the Great Fire of 1666 is the reason why London was never again afflicted with that "plague" which some competent critics believe to have existed there virtually without interruption since the black death or earlier—"pestilences" and "plague years" being only its super-manifestations. Somewhat similarly, the "swamp fever" of a generation ago—whose name betrays its supposed origin at least—was fostered, if not originally occasioned, in the opinion of careful observers, by the circumstance that for five consecutive years (1899 to 1903 inclusive, its outbreak in the

<sup>7</sup>*I.e.*, "bronchos". A broncho is simply a wild (unbroken) horse; but I hesitate to use the term, as many people wrongly imagine it to signify some nondescript of unknown ancestry. A pedigreed animal could still be a "broncho".

<sup>8</sup>John Mackenzie, *Day-dawn in dark places* (London, 1882). See also *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th and 14th eds.), "Tsetse fly", "Transport".

worst form being in the third of the cycle) almost incessant rains from spring until autumn made prairie fires an impossibility. Vegetation during those years was abnormally luxuriant; meadows were turned into swamps or something more; swamps were converted into lakes;<sup>9</sup> and enormous areas of land were homesteaded and bought in districts which previous to 1899 had been regarded as for all time suitable only for ranching, without irrigation; and some remarkable crops were harvested on long abandoned fields.<sup>10</sup> During this period the never very uncommon summer phenomenon in western Canada of clear mornings and cloudy or wet afternoons was to be noted unbrokenly (in the district around Lacombe at least) for weeks and weeks at a time.<sup>11</sup> The hot steamy atmosphere of the woodlands gave forth that peculiarly fetid exhalation which is only associated with rotting vegetation;<sup>12</sup> and a very competent medical man, on being called in to attend an old friend of my own then living among rather marshy woodlands, whose complaint brought him very near to death, stated to us that, absurd as it might seem in such a latitude and altitude (about 2,500 feet), he could call it by no other name than malaria; and would unhesitatingly have diagnosed it as such had he encountered it in a more southerly climate. Since that time, I am not aware of more than one wet season at once;<sup>13</sup> nor have I heard of any re-appearance of "swamp fever" on the grand scale of an epidemic. It seems not unreasonable that the purifying agency of the prairie fire has had some connection with this.

There were certainly great fires in the foothill country about 1847, although apparently farther to the south than the Upper North Saskatchewan valley. The well-known pioneer missionary, the Rev. Robert Terrill Rundle, notes in his *Journal*, in the Little Red Deer country (about west of Didsbury, Alberta):

<sup>9</sup>I myself learned to swim in 1901 in a lake eight feet deep, out of which we hauled hay, in full loads, in 1898.

<sup>10</sup>In 1902 I saw fields south of Calgary raising timothy four feet high, over which I rode in 1896 to 1898; at which time the soil was blown away to the ploughing depth, and there was no vegetable growth whatever other than a few scattered clumps of wild sage.

<sup>11</sup>These statements are not guess-work. I kept a daily diary, including notes on weather, for many years. During this period, we had practically no mosquitoes, as the incessant rains kept surface water fresh and cold. In 1904, the first drier season, I had grown cattle which did not know the use of a "smudge"; a thing we had not had about the place since 1900.

<sup>12</sup>Lescarbot noted this in New France, which is scarcely tropical itself (*The history of New France*, Champlain Society, 1907-1915, II, 264).

<sup>13</sup>What is sometimes termed "Rocky Mountain fever" is asserted by an old North-west Mounted Policeman, who assimilates it to the common "local fever" of many lands, to be "the typho-malarial scourge". He scouts the idea (expressed in a government pamphlet) that "there is no malaria" (John G. Donkin, *Trooper and redskin in the far North-west*, London, 1889, 41).

It was about this time we saw the burnt buffalo. They had perished in the flames the preceding fall of the year, when that part of the country was on fire. They must have rushed through the flames, till overcome with the heat, they sank in the last gasp of agony. These poor animals probably under the Divine Providence, were the means of saving the lives of some Indians who were driven from the woods by starvation. . . .<sup>14</sup>

Rundle, however, gives no hint of such a vast conflagration across a huge territory as Hector indicates; neither does Paul Kane, who wintered at and around Edmonton in 1847 to 1848. If the description given by Hector's informants is to be taken literally, it would virtually necessitate the living timber-growth of that region being at the present time only some eighty years of age. The immense quantities of timber cut in Edmonton alone during the last thirty years or so, and obtained from this very region of the Upper Saskatchewan, makes impossible, in my opinion, the view that there was any such general devastation. If such fires be reduced to what might be termed local dimensions, probably any alleged epidemics resulting therefrom may be similarly reduced, if they ever occurred at all. "Reports" of this and that from Indians or half-breeds were frequently filtered through many minds before reaching the literary recorder; and it is not always certain to what extent the inquirer himself may unconsciously suggest the answer to his own questionings. If the "same descriptions of sudden change all over the country", to which Hector refers, are connected with epidemic disease, it is curious that no member of the Palliser party mentions it in any portion of the vast territory covered by the party; nor does any other writer, visitor, or resident, mention it at all.

It may be noted, in addition, that the incidental references to buffalo or other game, before and after 1847, do not appear to support any theory of sudden and dramatic change. I have found no allusions to "vast herds" or the like, such as are so frequently mentioned in the plains region. Even the earlier observers, long before Hector, mention "buffalo seen",<sup>15</sup> which scarcely indicates really huge numbers; and the description of buffalo as "numerous"<sup>16</sup> conveys a sense of contrast to the super-

<sup>14</sup>MS. journal, May 19, 1847 (copy in Alberta Provincial Legislative Library, Edmonton).

<sup>15</sup>J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *The journals of David Thompson* (Champlain Society, 1916), 396-398; cf. L. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889, 1890), II, 53.

<sup>16</sup>Henry, 1810-1811 (Coues, *Henry-Thompson journals*, II, 639-641, 653-661, 681-697, 739).

latives of the plains. Father De Smet speaks as if they had vanished already in 1846; but says nothing about supposed causes: "What I here saw of beavers is applicable to almost all the Hudson territory [*sic*]. When the reindeer, buffalo, and moose abounded, the Crees were their peaceful possessors. These animals have now disappeared. . . ."<sup>17</sup> Starvation certainly existed along the Upper Saskatchewan at that time. Rundle notes at Rocky Mountain House above Edmonton: "Assinaboines starving here. . . . For two or three autumns the Assinaboines have been starving here. . . ."<sup>18</sup> This clearly indicates that chronological accuracy at least is not to be looked for in the accounts given to Hector. References to a fair sufficiency since the catastrophes of fire and plague point also to improbabilities in his evidence. At Edmonton itself in the winter of 1847-8, according to Paul Kane, buffalo were "extremely numerous . . . . Outside the buffaloes range in thousands close to the fort . . . and several had been shot within a few hundred yards. . . . An enormous band, probably numbering 10,000. . . ." (December, 1847).<sup>19</sup> Hector, it is true, records them as "far out" at Rocky Mountain House, in January, 1858;<sup>20</sup> but at the same time he notes a Stoney hunter, who was said to have killed fifty-seven "moose-deer" in one recent season<sup>21</sup>—hardly evidence of scarcity! And in the Pigeon Lake country, he writes in September, 1858, that Indians "told us these deer—wapiti—have already commenced to go in large bands, which is a sign of an early winter . . .",<sup>22</sup> also in December, 1858, between Little Red Deer and Bow Rivers, " . . . band after band of deer, just as if we were passing through a deer park. This is the only time I have ever seen game in such plenty in the country, excepting of course buffalo herds. . . ."<sup>23</sup> In the same Little Red Deer country, the region of Rundle's fires of 1846-7, Hector found buffalo numerous, "close up to the woods" in December, 1858;<sup>24</sup> and Palliser himself found "plenty" between

<sup>17</sup>Edmonton, 1846, in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early western travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904-7), XXIX, 250; Chittenden and Richardson (eds.), *Life*, II, 533. Yet he noted at Fort Edmonton, Christmas, 1845, "500 buffalo" in the ice-house, and 30,000 white-fish, averaging 4 pounds each (Thwaites, *Early western travels*, XXIX, 234-251). In 1857 "2 buffaloes of 526 lbs." per day served out there (Hector, *Palliser journals*, 72, 78).

<sup>18</sup>MS. journal, Oct. 18, 1845.

<sup>19</sup>Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America* (Toronto, 1925), 256-258.

<sup>20</sup>*Palliser journals*, 75.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 76, 102, 107-108.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 120-122.



Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House in January and February, 1859.<sup>25</sup> Finally, Hector himself says of the Stoneys of this very region:

They said that every year they find it more difficult to keep from starving, and that even the buffalo cannot be depended on as before, because being now only in large bands, when one tribe of Indians are hunting them the other tribes have to go without until the band migrates into their country. . . .<sup>26</sup>

The date is 1859, and it will be observed that no mention is made of any catastrophic element in the causes of diminution or scarcity; rather there were, apparently, influences operating in many quarters during the last two decades of the buffalo's wild existence to produce a shortage relative or absolute, largely according to the tribe's geographical situation.

My own scepticism concerning disease as the possible exterminator of the buffalo is evidently shared by others, judging by the following editorial comment in the *Edmonton journal*, concerning Dr. Bruce's suggestion:

The widely reported statement of Prof. E. A. Bruce, dominion pathologist, that hemorrhagic septicæmia, a germ which flourishes in unclean barn yards, filthy hog-wallows, and neglected hen houses and which is playing havoc with herds and flocks in many areas these days, "may have been" responsible for the decimation of the once-great buffalo herds, has aroused old-timers and students of western history. They reject the suggestion. Many authorities are quoted by a correspondent in to-day's Letter Box. A. D. Kean, writing in the *Toronto Star*, also gives some interesting versions of the cause of the disappearance of the buffalo from the western plains. These, he states, were collected "at various periods of my life in the foothills country".

There are many who set the date of the extinction of the buffalo as 1879. In the fall of that year great prairie and forest fires raged through the feeding grounds of the herds. These, it is claimed, were started by rival bootlegging gangs, who were out to hamper their competitors and also the newly organized police who were making vigorous attempts to stamp out the traffic from south of the international border.

A "well-known judge of the Alberta circuit court who made an exhaustive study of the passing of the buffalo" is quoted as saying in an interview in 1925:

"I followed up that prairie fire story and found it to be all too true. There had been grave clashes between our North West Mounted Police and the gangs of whiskey runners who then thronged

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 145.



the foothills. For the great whiskey highway for many years had paralleled the Rocky Mountains far into the Canadian northland. The greatest enmity prevailed between some of the smuggling gangs, who, to thwart the operations of their opponents in trade and the enemy police as well, set fires in all the best grassed valleys and natural feeding grounds of the buffalo; which extended in places more than 500 miles eastward of the foothills themselves.

"Those lawless whiskey-traders were not in the least concerned with the buffalo—in fact, I do not think for a moment that they thought of anything other than to destroy the activities of other liquor smugglers and to defeat the purpose of the newly organized police who had amply demonstrated that all liquor traffic was to be stamped out of the countryside.

"Again, I learned beyond dispute that many thousands of buffalo were killed during the winter of 1879-80 by hide-hunters south of the border. Many of the hunters were said to have formerly belonged to the ranks of the whiskey-runners.

"That was the logical sequence of what might be expected of men of that type, and to my mind wholly explains one of the most dastardly crimes ever known to the north-west. I mean the wiping out of our once so-splendid herds of incomparable buffalo." Chief "One Spot" of the Blood Indians, who was a "strong young man" in 1879, some few years ago recalled the fire. "Hills is all black—no water, no grass for ten days ride", he was quoted as saying. "Buffalo come to Belly River. Him go south like always do for winter feed. Next year him no come back. One Spot never see 'um again."

The men who should know, who were on the plains in those days, seem agreed that it was man, and not disease that had most to do with the extinction of the buffalo.<sup>27</sup>

I do not, of course, dispute the fires;<sup>28</sup> but I doubt whether they were much more than a subsidiary and incidental cause, perhaps assisting to drive the remaining herds nearer to the Northern Pacific Railway, or to some region more favourable for transport of hides in large quantities. Fires were no novelty in the buffalo's environment, being of almost yearly occurrence.<sup>29</sup> It is, of course, well known that the prairies themselves are almost universally considered to have originated in the burning of the forests which formerly clothed the land.<sup>30</sup> With reference to buffalo in particular, it may also be noted that, while one or two observers

<sup>27</sup>Edmonton journal, Jan. 27, 1932.

<sup>28</sup>See John Maclean, *Canadian savage folk* (Toronto, 1896), 108; Dorothy Diller, "Early economic development of Alberta prior to 1905" (MS. in Provincial Legislative Library, Edmonton), chapter v, 5.

<sup>29</sup>D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of voyage and travel in the interior of North America* (Andover, 1820), 90; etc.

<sup>30</sup>The only exceptions I have found are Pike, 1807, in E. Coues (ed.), *Travels of Z. M. Pike* (New York, 1895), II, 524-525; Col. R. I. Dodge, *Plains of the great west* (New York, 1877), 29-30; and for the Black and Grande Prairies of Texas, L. R. Jones and P. W. Bryan, *North America* (2nd ed., London, 1928), 172.

mention seeing burnt buffalo<sup>31</sup> (perhaps trapped in some valley or region of long, heavy vegetable growth, as where Rundle records them), others, who refer to fires either as an actual experience or in the abstract, simply appear to have considered them as being likely to divert the buffalo from some accustomed route or haunt, where they hoped to find them.<sup>32</sup> The reference to the "number of versions" cited by Mr. A. D. Kean (whose article I have not seen) indicates what has been my own experience: there are "a number of versions" of every single phase of the history of the buffalo, including some very contradictory ones. The final editorial verdict is unquestionably correct, however; man, and nothing else, was the final destroyer of the wild buffalo in Canada.

## II

### HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF THE EXTERMINATION

Concerning the final extermination of the plains buffalo as a wild species in Canada, it is interesting to note that when the same thing came to pass in the north-western United States in 1883, the disappointed hide-hunters, who had "outfitted" as usual in the fall of that year for the expected slaughter, could not bring themselves to believe it. The common explanation of the disappearance was that the great herd had "gone north into Canada"; and would shortly return in force.<sup>33</sup> Contrary to this opinion, however, the virtual extermination in Canada actually preceded the final slaughter of 1880-83 in the United States.

It may be said that, up to about 1870, there never was any progressive "extermination" in Canada for robes alone, in the way that there was in the United States. Whether by Indians or by whites (practically all the latter being, almost until the end, Hudson's Bay Company's employees only), the utilization of buffalo embraced almost all the principal uses to which buffalo had ever been put by those Indians who depended upon it almost exclusively; meat being, of course, the first and predominant use. The reasons for this difference between Canada and the United

<sup>31</sup>Besides Rundle, two only; the same fire, between the Assiniboine and the Missouri, 1804; Charles Mackenzie in L. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, I, 328; Henry in *Henry-Thompson journals*, I, 253-254.

<sup>32</sup>Henry, *in re* fires in Bow River country, 1810-1811, in *Henry-Thompson journals*, II, 671; H. Y. Hind, *Reports on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition*, 1858 (Toronto, 1859), 106-107.

<sup>33</sup>W. T. Hornaday, "The extermination of the American bison" (*Smithsonian reports*, 1887, published 1889), part II, 511-512.

States are in my opinion as follows. Since settlement of the plains was confined at first to the United States, "extermination" first became a pressing question there, either as a necessary prelude to, or a consequent result from, settlement, or as a semi-political *desideratum* for other reasons. Secondly, the Hudson's Bay Company's deliberate opposition to settlement in western Canada until the latest moment retarded the opening up of "bulk-transportation" routes, and so deprived the commercial class in Canada of any visible incentive to foster or promote a policy of extermination for the sake of a commodity whose cost of transportation, in larger quantities than their own local uses necessitated, was virtually prohibitive; especially was this the case since the conveyance for immense distances of lighter and more valuable fur-products taxed their facilities to the utmost. The easiest and most natural outlet by land from the Upper Saskatchewan country was over the watershed of the Missouri basin, southward to Fort Benton, Montana. But it was not until about 1870—speaking broadly<sup>34</sup>—that the determined hostility of the northern (*i.e.*, Canadian) Blackfeet and their confederated tribes was overcome, and passage through their country was made possible.<sup>35</sup> When this was effected, the (buffalo) fur-trade made its appearance; and, as historical students of this era are well aware, it was the introduction of the "bad men" and other demoralizing elements so characteristic of the development of other sections of the great west, which resulted in the inauguration of the North West Mounted Police in 1874.<sup>36</sup>

Lord Southesk, as early as 1859, had believed the buffalo to have decreased so greatly that they were reduced to one herd—of

<sup>34</sup>Miss Diller gives 1866 as the first year in which American traders came across the line from Fort Benton (Dorothy Diller, "Early economic development of Alberta", chapters ii, 12; iv, 3). I note that Father Lacombe went east that way in 1869, presumably indicating by then an established route (Katherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe*, Toronto, 1911, 172).

<sup>35</sup>Although the Hudson's Bay Company's record toward Indians is generally good, such rhapsodies on the company's "mission" as those of Lord Strathcona (Beckles Willson, *The great company*, Toronto, 1899, introduction, xi-xiii) are idle and preposterous; particularly for the south, where, since about 1840, Hudson's Bay men dared not venture before the mounted police era, and where they foretold disaster to the McDougalls in 1873 (John McDougall, *On western trails in the early seventies*, Toronto, 1911, 15, 21, *etc.*). The men who really paved the way for the police in Alberta were Lacombe, Scollen, and the McDougalls.

<sup>36</sup>On the Cypress Hills' massacre of Assiniboinés by Americans, in 1872, see S. B. Steele, *Forty years in Canada* (London, 1915), 55; McDougall, *On western trails*, 253; John Hawkes, *Saskatchewan and her people* (1924), I, 145-146. On ruffians of Fort Benton and south Alberta, see McDougall, *On western trails*, 75, 128-130, 257-260; Steele, *Forty years in Canada*, 53-58; Denny MS. (in Provincial Legislative Library, Edmonton), 120, 327; A. O. MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta* (Calgary, 1912), I, 263; C. M. MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies* (London, 1930), 66, *etc.*

considerable numbers, of course.<sup>37</sup> Although this view is demonstrably unsound for Southesk's day, and never literally true until possibly the very last days, something more nearly approximating to that condition may be said to have come to pass by 1870. In the preceding fifty years, the annual expeditions of the Red River hunters had gradually "pushed back" the buffalo frontier to the Cypress Hills, where the original force of Mounted Police, on their way west, first encountered them in 1874.<sup>38</sup> The inauguration of the traffic between southern Alberta and Fort Benton produced a similar effect in the south-western portion of the Canadian prairie buffalo range. There was thus a "frontal attack" on the buffalo territory from the eastward, along a line extending from latitude 49° to the Saskatchewan near Carlton or Battleford; and a turning movement along their flank extending for practically the entire "depth of their formation" from the Cypress Hills westward to the foothills of the Rockies. In these circumstances, their disappearance seemed inevitable and no catastrophe is required to explain it.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, the evidence of very competent observers, who must have known what was happening to the herd in the United States, is so cautious and conservative as to justify the assumption that a very great number of buffalo still remained in the early seventies.<sup>40</sup>

Denny remarks that there were "no buffalo except wood buffalo" north of the North Saskatchewan in 1874.<sup>41</sup> While quite possibly correct, this was hearsay only; for at that time Denny had just reached southern Alberta. John McDougall says that the Indians living between Edmonton and Victoria (now Pakan) some sixty or seventy miles eastward, were "still living chiefly on buffalo" in 1875;<sup>42</sup> and General Sam Steele noted that the herds were "not far" from Victoria in the autumn of 1874, and that Edmonton "enjoyed plenty of fresh buffalo meat" in the winter of 1874-75.<sup>43</sup> During the same winter also, between Buffalo Lake

<sup>37</sup>Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* (Toronto, 1875), 254-255.

<sup>38</sup>Steele, *Forty years in Canada*, 75-76; Denny MS., 190-193; both eye-witnesses.

<sup>39</sup>George McDougall in McDougall, *Forest, lake, and prairie* (Toronto, 1895, 1910) 195; McDougall MS. (copy in Provincial Legislative Library, Edmonton), 10; Crowfoot, 1875, in Denny MS., 239; or Governor Laird in Hon. Alexander Morris, *The treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories* (1880), 92, 93, 169, 170, 177, 183, 185, 188, 233, 262, 268, 284. Similarly, a Saulteaux chief to the Rev. Egerton R. Young, 1873, in *Canoe and dog-train* (London, 1892), 239.

<sup>40</sup>Expected to be "nearly extinct after ten years" (Laird, 1877, in Morris, *Treaties with the Indians*, 262); "Within the next 25 years" (J. A. Allen, *The American bison, living and extinct*, Cambridge, Mass., 1876, 55, 71).

<sup>41</sup>Denny MS., 38.

<sup>42</sup>McDougall MS., 20.

<sup>43</sup>Steele, *Forty years*, 72, 84-85, 87.

and the Hand Hills, in Central Alberta, "vast numbers of buffalo covered the country. . . ."<sup>44</sup>

The testimony concerning southern Alberta is similar. John McDougall notes "great herds" and "dense masses" near Fort Kipp; "buffalo numerous" near Morley, and eastward, "far out" from High River, in the summer of 1874.<sup>45</sup> That autumn, in September and October, Denny likewise records "thousands" near Whoop-Up;<sup>46</sup> and he uses the same expression exactly a year later for the herds along the Bow River,<sup>47</sup> east of Calgary. At the same time (autumn, 1875) McDougall speaks of "plenty" just south of High River.<sup>48</sup> He also mentions "plenty" near Calgary in January, 1876;<sup>49</sup> and another contemporary source states that . . . "that winter the buffalo roamed over the neighbouring plains in countless thousands. . . ."<sup>50</sup> Up to this time the McDougalls lived chiefly on buffalo at Morley (Upper Bow valley);<sup>51</sup> as likewise did the police (on first-hand authority) up to 1878.<sup>52</sup> So far as the more central territory is concerned, buffalo are also recorded south of Carlton in 1876.<sup>53</sup>

During these years, of course, the fur-traders were exporting large numbers of robes from southern Alberta. Even in the earlier years of the present inquiry the figure is placed very high. Professor Allen is of the opinion that, from figures furnished by J. W. ("Saskatchewan") Taylor, the United States consul at Winnipeg in 1873, "it is evident that the destruction of buffalo in the Saskatchewan region in 1872 must have amounted to considerably more than a million, and these mainly cows. . . ."<sup>54</sup> Allen also states: "The Saskatchewan district sent 17,930 buffalo robes through Minnesota to market during the year ending September 30, 1872; while an equal number was either consumed in the country or despatched to Europe by vessels from York Factory, on Hudson's Bay. . . ."<sup>55</sup> The second item is apparently from the same informant. I must say that, while the number of furs sent southward seems not unreasonable, the "equal number"

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>McDougall, *On western trails*, 69, 79, 194, 233.

<sup>46</sup>Denny MS., 198, 200-204, 207; cf. also Steele, *Forty years*, 76-77; MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 143-145.

<sup>47</sup>Denny MS., 198.

<sup>48</sup>McDougall MS., 29.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, 36-38, 42, 48.

<sup>50</sup>Hughes, *Father Lacombe*, 266.

<sup>51</sup>McDougall MS., 33.

<sup>52</sup>Denny MS., 316.

<sup>53</sup>Morris, *Treaties with the Indians*, 189, 192, 229.

<sup>54</sup>J. A. Allen, *The American bison*, 191.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 173, 191.

has a rather happy-go-lucky air about it, as if one said, "Well, if that isn't where they went, they must have gone somewhere else!" Those able to indicate with such precision one channel of export should have had a more authentic knowledge of the others. I consider also, that an authenticated disposal of some 36,000 hides (even if we double the export through Minnesota to allow for the traffic at Fort Benton) does not justify an estimate of the destruction at "considerably more than a million" buffalo in one year, especially when one takes into account the meagre population of Saskatchewan in 1872 even if Red River hunters are included. Thousands of hunters much better-armed, in the same year did not much more than double the figure of one million, on the highest computation, in the terrific slaughter of the southern herd in the United States.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, whether such figures as one million be literally admissible or not, their bare mention is in itself proof that a very large number were destroyed.<sup>57</sup> The opinion was expressed by Governor Alexander Morris that in 1873 the American traders exported from the Canadian west buffalo robes to the value of fifty thousand dollars.<sup>58</sup> If these were obtained at the prices indicated by Steele as prevailing in 1876 at Fort Macleod, this would represent about 25,000 robes.<sup>59</sup> Mr. MacInnes, however, remarks elsewhere:

There are no reliable figures for the number of buffalo robes exported from Canada by the whisky-traders. After the police came, however, an attempt was made to collect duty on these exports, and though this was attended with a certain measure of success, it is almost certain that between 1874 and 1879 many thousands of robes were exported of which the Police knew nothing, not to mention the bison that were killed by the Indians for their own use. . . .<sup>60</sup>

Denny (whether upon any higher authority than popular estimates of the day, I know not) affirms that in 1875, I. G. Baker and Company shipped out "40,000 buffalo robes and wolf-skins" from

<sup>56</sup>That of Allen: "2,500,000 per year", 1870-1875 (*The American bison*, 191).

<sup>57</sup>In 1873, "a party of hunters, . . . in longitude 110°, latitude 51°, was seven days in passing through a herd. . . ." (Allen, *The American bison*, 173; *ex. inf.* J. W. Taylor). The locality is between Medicine Hat and the Red Deer Forks of the South Saskatchewan River.

<sup>58</sup>MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 72.

<sup>59</sup>"Enormous numbers of buffalo robes were taken, the Indians receiving not more than two dollars in trade, while the robes realized five times that amount in Chicago. . . ." (Steele, *Forty years*, 110); *cf.* McDougall: "Scores of thousands" during a number of years (*On western trails*, 128).

<sup>60</sup>MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 145. The smuggling may partly explain the fact that the North-west Territories' budget, from March, 1877, to July, 1878, totalled \$526.00! (N. F. Black, *A history of Saskatchewan and the Old North West*, Regina, 2nd ed., 1913, 196).

Macleod and Calgary, the proceeds of their winter's trade.<sup>61</sup> Without suggesting any figures, Steele states that "enormous numbers" of buffalo robes were taken at Macleod and "a good trade" was done at Fort Calgary, in 1876,<sup>62</sup> the buffalo being plentiful near both points. One of the earlier historians of Alberta states that there were "about 30,000" robes sent from Macleod and Fort Walsh conjointly in 1878, and "less than 14,000" in 1879.<sup>63</sup> A later student quotes what are evidently the same estimates in more precise form:<sup>64</sup>

	FORT MACLEOD	FORT WALSH
1877.....	30,000	.....
1878.....	13,000	18,375
1879.....	5,767	8,617

Despite the serious inroad which the slaughter of the buffalo made on the Indians' principal food-supply, and this at a time when the authorities in western Canada were but ill-equipped for the task of feeding them when that supply should fail, nothing was done for years toward conserving the buffalo; and the date of the first attempt (1877) makes it difficult to resist the conclusion that nothing would have been done merely to check the hide-hunters. In that year, however, an important political event increased the numbers of the buffalo-using Indians in Canada very considerably. After the overwhelming defeat of the brave but fool-hardy Custer and his force by the Sioux in June, 1876, Sitting Bull and a large band of the Sioux crossed the border into Canada in 1877. To what extent the law which was enacted in that year may have reflected the wishes or influence of the hide-hunters, it is impossible to say. It was, perhaps, not unnatural that, while the Indians and half-breeds desired protection for the buffalo against white hunters, protection against themselves was very distasteful.<sup>65</sup> The ordinance of 1877

... forbade the use of buffalo pounds, the wanton destruction of buffalo at any season, the killing of animals under two years of age,

<sup>61</sup>Denny MS., 272. Messrs. I. G. Baker gave their entire total from Fort Benton in 1876 as "about 75,000" (Correspondence to Dr. Hornaday in Hornaday, "The extermination of the American Bison", 506).

<sup>62</sup>Steele, *Forty years*, 110.

<sup>63</sup>A. O. MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, I, 377.

<sup>64</sup>MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 145; Diller, "Early economic development", chapter iv.

<sup>65</sup>Morris, *Treaties with the Indians*, 191, 193, 227, 228, 236, 237, 241, 258, 259, 267, 271, 272.



or the slaughter of female buffalo during a stated close season—briefer for Indians than for others. This bill was framed in the best interests of the Indians and half-breeds, but their very destitution made the protection of the waning herds a hardship and it was found necessary to repeal the measure in the following year. . . .<sup>66</sup>

The condition of affairs in 1877 seems to have been one of local variations. Professor John Macoun speaks of the hills "covered by countless thousands";<sup>67</sup> and Denny mentions "plenty of buffalo" near Fort Walsh in October of that year,<sup>68</sup> when the famous conference between Sitting Bull and the representatives of the United States, at which the great chief treated General Terry and his colleagues with such contempt, was held in the presence of Colonel Irvine, the commanding officer at Fort Walsh.<sup>69</sup> What "plenty" precisely signifies it is difficult to say; but Lieutenant-Governor Laird's report of his journey from Battleford to Blackfoot Crossing (Bow River) from August 25 to September 1, 1877, reads as follows:

For the first day we followed a trail leading southward, but afterward our course was across the trackless plains until we approached nearer our destination. On the third day out we first sighted buffalo, and every day subsequently that we travelled, except the last, we saw herds of the animals. Most of the herds, however, were small, and we remarked with regret that very few calves of this season were to be seen. We observed portions of many buffalo carcasses on our route, from not a few of which the peltries had not been removed. From this circumstance, as well as from the fact that many of the skins are made into parchments and coverings for lodges, I concluded that the export of buffalo robes from the territories does not indicate even one-half the number of those valuable animals slaughtered annually in our country. . . .<sup>70</sup>

The failure of the afore-mentioned conference to induce the expatriated Sioux to return to their old haunts, led to the adoption of a policy by the government at Washington or its military chiefs in the west, which is somewhat caustically characterized by a recent western historian:

In 1878 the United States Government decided to starve Sitting Bull and his followers into surrender. A cordon of half-breeds,

<sup>66</sup>Black, *A history of Saskatchewan*, 196; cf. 247. MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 145.

<sup>67</sup>J. Macoun, *Manitoba and the great northwest* (Guelph, 1882), 342.

<sup>68</sup>Denny MS., 299.

<sup>69</sup>Black, *A history of Saskatchewan*, 186; John Blue, *Alberta past and present* (Chicago, 1924), I, 77; Steele, *Forty years*, 123-130; Denny MS., 299; the last two were eye-witnesses. Cf. Red Cloud and U.S. officers, 1866 (G. R. Hebard and E. Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, Cleveland, 1922, I, 267-268).

<sup>70</sup>In Morris, *The treaties of Canada*, 252.



Indians, and American soldiers was therefore formed, and ordered to drive the buffalo back whenever the herds started to come north, and it was there, shut in by this cordon from their favourite grazing grounds on the Bow River, that the last great slaughter of the bison took place. Had such a policy been adopted by the Canadian Government it can be well imagined how furious their neighbours would have been. It seems rather unjust, to put it mildly, that because the Americans had failed to handle their own Indians successfully, Canadian Indians were therefore to be afflicted with famine, and the task of the Canadian Mounted Police rendered almost impossible; for the Canadian Indians, as well as the Sioux, looked to the buffalo for their food. . . .<sup>71</sup>

While this was only too true of the buffalo as a whole, there must have been left in the country a certain number, perhaps in isolated bands, for Steele states that "many Indians were hunting buffalo" near Fort Walsh, in May, 1878.<sup>72</sup> The supply was not sufficient, however, to serve the hungry Indians for long, and their predicament is described in an extract from the press of the time:

The principal event that has brought about the existing state of things is undoubtedly the presence on the hunting-grounds formerly occupied by our own people, of the large bands of United States Indians who recently entered upon them. Their numbers are variously estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000 souls, and the buffalo killed amount to hundreds daily. This wholesale slaughter and the exclusion of our Indians from their hunting-grounds, are undoubtedly the cause of much distress that prevailed last summer, and gave rise to the rumours of coming trouble. Providentially, great bands of fat buffalo came down from the mountains in the autumn, and furnished a good supply of food for the winter, thus removing all cause of apprehension for the present. . . .<sup>73</sup>

Denny records that in 1879 "the great herds had moved south, never to return"; and that many Canadian Indians followed the buffalo to Montana. He adds: "The main herd of buffalo now remaining were surrounded by most of the southern Indians, together with those of Canada, in a section of country south from Milk River to the Little Rockies and the Bear Paw Mountains, and across the Missouri River to the Judith Basin; and the state of the tribes of plain Indians of Canada in their own country

<sup>71</sup>MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 146. On "military" reasons for extermination in the United States, cf. *ibid.*, 62; Maclean, *Canadian savage folk*, 302; N. F. Black, *A history of Saskatchewan*, 200; MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, I, 377; Diller "Early economic development", chapter iv, 4 (who names Colonel Herchmer); Hornaday, "The extermination of the American bison", 513-521; E. S. Osgood, *The day of the cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929), 79.

<sup>72</sup>Steele, *Forty years*, 131; see above, page 8, on robes, 1878-1879.

<sup>73</sup>*Saskatchewan herald* (Battleford), Feb. 10, 1879; in Black, *A history of Saskatchewan*, 184-185.

was bordering on starvation. . . ."<sup>74</sup> Professor Macoun, who was in the west at the time, says that, "Where the hills were covered with countless thousands in 1877, the Blackfeet were dying of starvation in 1879. . . ."<sup>75</sup> Elsewhere he gives a graphic description of the starvation in the Hand Hills country (south of Buffalo Lake, central Alberta) in September, 1879; and of the Indians' almost miraculous relief by the sudden appearance of a herd.<sup>76</sup> This may be the herd mentioned in Colonel Macleod's report for 1879:

. . . Once during the summer a very large herd crossed the line, east of the Cypress Hills, and smaller bands have come into the country, in some instances making their way north to the South Saskatchewan. . . . During the spring and early summer the condition of our Indians was desperate in the extreme. Buffalo, their only source of supply, had moved south, and their horses were too weak to follow. . . .<sup>77</sup>

Denny elsewhere says:

In the fall and winter of 1879 the Indians belonging to Canada began to return from the American side where they had gone to follow the buffalo, who had now left the North West Territories forever. True, a few scattered animals were found on rare occasions in the country between Wood Mountain and Battleford as late as 1884, but the buffalo as a means of subsistence for the Indian was gone. . . .<sup>78</sup>

General Sam Steele states that in November, 1879, the buffalo were on their way northward, returning into Canada, when the Canadian Indians, in their uncontrollable hunger and impatience, got in front of the herd and hunted it, turning it back into Montana whence it never again returned.<sup>79</sup> I should not feel disposed to doubt this on any general grounds of the "impossibility of turning the buffalo from their course". That supposition vanishes upon investigation; and *a priori* a large band of Indians might turn a herd which one or two hunters were unable to divert. The incident, however, lacks confirmation, and seems to conflict

<sup>74</sup>Denny MS., 305.

<sup>75</sup>Macoun, *Manitoba and the great northwest*, 342.

<sup>76</sup>*Autobiography of John Macoun, M.A., Canadian explorer and naturalist* (Memorial volume published by the Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club, 1922), 149-150.

<sup>77</sup>Denny, MS., 310. He has "1880", but the context and its place in the work indicate clearly that it should be 1879.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 318.

<sup>79</sup>Steele, *Forty years*, 146-148. "Practically extinct", 1879 (John Blue, *Alberta past and present*, I, 178). Dr. John Maclean (Edmonton, 1926) "saw a herd of perhaps 100,000", apparently in the autumn of 1879; but where? (*Edmonton journal*, November 17, 1926). This would still be a usual sight in Montana then.

with the general consensus of testimony at this time. It seems possible that Steele may have applied the tactics of the "cordon" described above to a different year and to other Indians.<sup>80</sup>

In 1880, in the country near Wood Mountain, the buffalo were "gone";<sup>81</sup> and in 1881, in the south, the Indians "were still looking for buffalo where none existed".<sup>82</sup> "It was late in the summer of 1881 that the Assiniboines and Crees left Fort Walsh, and went south in the hopes of still finding buffalo along the Missouri River . . .",<sup>83</sup> whence they returned in a starving condition. Another resident in the country at that time, says:

During the winter of 1881, when the buffaloes on the Missouri were returning to the Chinook region of Southern Alberta, the Crow and other Sioux Indian tribes set the prairie on fire, and the herds were driven southward toward the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, where they were corralled by the Indians and white people and exterminated. . . .<sup>84</sup>

There were, however, buffalo yet remaining in noticeable quantities. A modern historian of Saskatchewan writes thus:

Senator John G. Turriff states that in 1881 there were herds of buffalo on the open plain between Moose Mountain and the American Boundary. In May, 1882, as he was coming from Manitoba into the Territories, he met the last buffalo hunt. They had been west of Moose Mountain and were returning. There were several hundred Red River carts, and they had stores of buffalo robes and pemmican. The Senator ought to know, as he bought supplies of these commodities. This would be the last organised buffalo hunt. . . .<sup>85</sup>

The same historian cites the well-known missionary, Father Hugonard, as stating that he saw no buffalo after one or two along Moose Jaw Creek in 1881, but believed there were stragglers as late as 1884.<sup>86</sup> An even more recent student says that about 400 head were killed south of Wood Mountain "in the winter of

<sup>80</sup>Denny should have known of this; he was feeding the starving Indians at the time (Denny MS., 318-322); cf. Hughes, *Father Lacombe*, 243-245; MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 87, 147, 155, 162.

<sup>81</sup>Denny MS., 303, 324.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, 347.

<sup>84</sup>Maclean, *Canadian savage folk*, 108; fires, 1878, in Diller, "Early economic development", chapter v, 5; 1879, so Chief "One Spot" (above, p. 9). Cf. the northward winter movements, with Chief "One Spot"—"always going south" in winter. Neither Canadian nor United States buffalo *always* did any such thing!

<sup>85</sup>John Hawkes, *Saskatchewan*, I, 57. I have found no annual reference to hunts later than 1874.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 366.

1882."<sup>87</sup> Dr. Hornaday sums up the extermination as follows:

The half-breeds of Manitoba, the Plain Crees of Qu'Appelle, and the Blackfeet of the South Saskatchewan swept bare a great belt of country stretching east and west between the Rocky Mountains and Manitoba. . . . The buffalo had disappeared from that entire region before 1879 and left the Blackfoot Indians on the verge of starvation. A few thousand buffaloes still remained in the country around the headwaters of the Battle River, between the North and South Saskatchewan; but they were surrounded and slain from all sides, and their numbers diminished very rapidly until all were killed.

The latest information I have been able to obtain in regard to this northern band has been kindly furnished by Professor C. A. Kenaston, who in 1881, and also in 1883, made a thorough exploration of the country between Winnipeg and Fort Edmonton for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. His four routes between the two points named covered a vast scope of country, several hundred miles in width. In 1881, at Moose Jaw, seventy-five miles south-east of the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan, he saw a party of Cree Indians, who had just arrived from the north-west with several carts laden with fresh buffalo. At Fort Saskatchewan, on the North Saskatchewan River, just above Edmonton,<sup>88</sup> he saw a party of English sportsmen who had recently been hunting on the Battle and Red Deer Rivers, between Edmonton and Fort Calgary(!), where they had found buffaloes, and killed as many as they cared to slaughter. In one afternoon they killed fourteen, and could have killed more had they been more bloodthirsty. In 1883, Prof. Kenaston found the fresh trail of a band of twenty-five or thirty buffaloes at the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan. Excepting in the above instances, he saw no further traces of buffalo, nor did he hear of the existence of any in all the country he explored. In 1881 he saw many Cree Indians at Fort Qu'Appelle in a starving condition, and there was no pemmican or buffalo meat at the fort. In 1883, however, a little pemmican found its way to Winnipeg, where it sold at 15 cents per pound; an exceedingly high price. It had been made that year, evidently in the month of April, as he purchased it in May for his journey. . . .<sup>89</sup>

Dr. Hornaday summarizes the appalling consequences of the extermination among some of the Canadian tribes:

During the winter of 1886-87, destitution and actual starvation prevailed to an alarming extent among certain tribes of Indians who once lived bountifully on the buffalo. A terrible tale of suffering in the Athabasca and Peace River country has recently [1888] come to the minister of the interior of the Canadian government, in the

<sup>87</sup>MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 145; ? 1881-1882, or 1882-1883.

<sup>88</sup>So in Hornaday. It is about twenty miles below Edmonton.

<sup>89</sup>Hornaday, "The extermination of the American bison", 504-505. I have been able to discover nothing further concerning Professor Kenaston.

form of a petition signed by the bishop of that diocese, six clergymen and missionaries, and several justices of the peace. It sets forth that "owing to the destruction of game, the Indians, both last winter and last summer, have been in a state of starvation. They are now in a complete state of destitution, and are utterly unable to provide themselves with clothing, shelter, ammunition, or food for the coming winter." The petition declares that on account of starvation, and consequent cannibalism a party of twenty-nine Crees was reduced to three in the winter of 1886.<sup>90</sup> Of the Fort Chippewyan Indians, between twenty and thirty starved to death last winter, and the death of many more was hastened by want of food and by famine diseases. Many other Indians—Crees, Beavers, and Chippewyans—at almost all points where there are missions or trading posts, would certainly have starved to death but for the help given them by the traders and missionaries at those places. It is now declared by the signers of the memorial, that scores of families, having lost their heads by starvation, are now perfectly helpless, and during the coming winter must either starve to death, or eat one another unless help comes. Heart-rending stories of suffering and cannibalism continue to come in from what was once the buffalo plains.

If ever thoughtless people were punished for their reckless improvidence, the Indians and half-breeds of the Northwest Territory are now paying the penalty for the wasteful slaughter of the buffalo a few short years ago. The buffalo is his own avenger, to an extent his remorseless slayers little dreamed he ever could be. . . .<sup>91</sup>

It is almost impossible to transcribe such passages calmly, half a century afterward. Who would suppose after reading the above that a white skin-hunter had ever been so much as heard of on the American continent?

Considering the ruthlessness of the "commercial" slaughter (*i.e.*, for hides) and the desperate plight of the people in consequence, occasional individuals or small herds of the species survived to astonishingly late dates in different parts of western Canada.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, 527; Hornaday adds in a footnote: "It was the Cree Indians who used to practice impounding buffaloes, slaughtering a pen of 200 head at a time with most fiendish glee, and leaving all but the very choicest of the meat to putrefy. . . ." Certainly not the Crees alone! He adds elsewhere: "People who are so utterly senseless as to wantonly destroy their own source of food, as the Indians have done, certainly deserve to starve. . . . And now, as we read of the appalling slaughter, one can scarcely repress the feeling of grim satisfaction that arises when we also read that many of the ex-slaughterers are almost starving for the millions of pounds of fat and juicy buffalo meat they wasted a few years ago. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 481-482). One need envy no man the satisfaction that arises in his bosom, however momentarily, at such a retribution as that!

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, 526-527. Cf. the following *in re* Blackfeet: "In 1883-'84 some 600 of those in Montana died of sheer starvation in consequence of the sudden extinction of the buffalo. . . ." (James Mooney, "Siksika", reprint from United States *Handbook of American Indians*, in *Handbook of Canadian Indians*, 427); also Osgood, *The day of the cattleman*, 142. In 1885 "The Metis of Wood Mountain and Willow Bunch were in a half-starving condition, owing to the recent collapse of the trade in buffalo skins" (Black, *A history of Saskatchewan*, 389).

Concerning Manitoba, Ernest Thompson Seton says:

In 1882, when I first went to live in Western Manitoba, the prairie everywhere was dotted with old Buffalo skulls. Many had horns on them, but none had hair. Their condition and local tradition agree in fixing from 1860 to 1865 as the epoch when the last Buffalo were killed on the Big Plain. . . . [*i.e.*, near Carberry, Manitoba].<sup>92</sup>

He adds elsewhere, however, that "in 1875 a few stragglers were said to be on the Big Plain . . .";<sup>93</sup> and that, "In 1879, about November 7, Dr. F. W. Shaw, of Carberry tells me that, as he was going to Rapid City from the Big Plain, he saw the tracks of three Buffalo at a place about four miles north of Grand Valley. They had been travelling northward, and a few hours before had been seen . . . crossing the Assiniboine. . . ."<sup>94</sup> Seton records that, "In 1882, C. C. Helliwell, of Brandon, saw eight in the Souris region . . ."<sup>95</sup> and that

In the fall of 1883, according to A. S. Barton, of Boissevain [southern Manitoba], an old Buffalo Bull crossed the Souris Plain from the south-east, going north-westerly toward Plum Creek. It was pursued . . . on the Antlers of the Souris, but was never overtaken. When last seen, it was going toward Moose Mountain.

About this time an old bull, probably the same, was seen near the site of the present town of Souris. My informant, H. W. O. Boger, says he saw it in daylight at three hundred yards, as it crossed his farm. It was trotting and went off north-west. A lot of the boys went after it, but never got it. This was the last seen in the region. It was recorded in all the current newspapers.<sup>96</sup>

In June or July, 1884, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, the well-known Canadian geologist and explorer, while "hunting for dinosaur fossils" along the Red Deer valley, near the Hand Hills—where they have since been unearthed in such numbers—encountered a band of about twenty buffalo.<sup>97</sup> Another bit of evidence given by Seton must belong to 1887: "An Indian just in [Winnipeg] from Manitou or Devil's Lake, about one hundred miles west of Battleford, reports having seen four buffalo and tracked fourteen others in that neighbourhood . . .";<sup>98</sup> and the same writer gives two still later instances:

<sup>92</sup>E. T. Seton, *Life-histories of northern animals*, I, 258.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 256.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 256-258.

<sup>97</sup>W. J. Loudon, *A Canadian geologist* (Toronto, 1930), 53.

<sup>98</sup>*Nor.-West farmer and miller*, Jan., 1888 (in Hawkes, *Saskatchewan*, I, 57). Unless "God's Lake", east of Lake Winnipeg, be another, I only know of three "Manitou Lakes", one at Watrous, Saskatchewan. Paul Kane mentions at Fort Edmonton, Christmas, 1847: "Mr. Thebo [Thibault] the R. C. missionary from Manitou Lake,

James M. Macoun tells me that in 1888 [early July] he saw the meat of eight Buffalo bulls that were killed between Methy Portage and Lac la Biche. They were the last seen there. . . .<sup>99</sup>

In 1889, according to the Rev. J. A. McLaughlin, missionary of Victoria,<sup>100</sup> north of the Saskatchewan, and W. Hine, a band of eleven was found in the Hand Hills, five hundred miles west of Manitoba. Five were killed by Indian acquaintance of McLaughlin. He saw part of the spoils, including a head, which sold at Winnipeg for \$120.00. The other six were not accounted for. . . .<sup>101</sup>

A recent historian records the following, which may possibly refer to the same herd:

The Game Report for 1888 states that of all the countless herds of bison that had formerly roamed the Territories, only six animals were known to be in existence, two old bulls in the Wood Mountain district; three cows and a bull between the Red Deer and Battle Rivers.<sup>102</sup>

One cannot but regret profoundly that McDougall's invaluable reminiscences were left unfinished at their venerated author's death in 1917. The final work upon which he was then engaged only brings his life-work down to the spring of 1876.<sup>103</sup> It is very probable that his detailed recitals of the years of the extermination would have added very considerably to our historical evidence for that epoch.

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about thirty miles off" (*Wanderings*, 261). This Southesk states to be Lac Ste. Anne, west of Edmonton about that distance (*Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, 169). This is manifestly the Manitou Lake, about 4 miles east of the Alberta-Saskatchewan border; visible from the train at Artland, Saskatchewan. C.N.R. main line to Edmonton.

<sup>99</sup>Seton, *Life histories of northern animals*, I, 297.

<sup>100</sup>Now Pakan, Alberta, 70 or 80 miles eastward from Edmonton on the Saskatchewan River. This was George McDougall's original mission, founded by him, 1862-1863.

<sup>101</sup>Seton, *Life-histories of northern animals*, I, 297.

<sup>102</sup>MacInnes, *In the shadow of the Rockies*, 145.

<sup>103</sup>Cited in the foregoing as McDougall MS.



## OFFICIAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO IMMIGRATION BY THE PROVINCE OF CANADA

IN the nineteenth century the people of the Western Hemisphere were not content to let European immigration pursue its natural course but desired to stimulate and direct it to specific localities. Behind this popular desire to hasten immigration may be seen the influence of the speculator in land who hoped to sell his lands at enhanced prices to the incoming settlers. New communities welcomed immigrants because the increased population would broaden the basis of taxation; contractors on canals, railroads, and building projects desired the cheap labour of the immigrants; the professional classes, business and commercial interests, and, indeed, all groups of people could easily see how they would be benefited by a rapidly increasing population and consequently they favoured immigration. The boastfulness of Canadians and Americans alike regarding the population of their frontier settlements is a clear indication of their desires in this respect. With unanimity, then, people in pioneer communities looked to their governments to undertake immigration work abroad.

There were a number of additional factors which made the promotion of immigration especially desirable to Canadians. Immigration, it was thought, would stimulate the sale of government land, the income from which might be used for the construction of canals and railroads or to reduce the ordinary taxes. More important was the growing realization on the part of Canadians that the United States, which was increasing its population at a rapid rate during the first half of the nineteenth century, was doing so at the expense of Canada. Not only were many Canadians migrating to the United States but also many immigrants coming to Canada were being induced to move across the border. By advertising Canada abroad it might be possible, the Canadians thought, to induce immigrants to come to Canada and to make permanent homes in her spacious territory. Undoubtedly the rapid growth of the frontier states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin aroused much envy in Canada and led many people to urge that the Canadian government take steps to stimulate immigration. Another factor of importance was the desire of the residents of Upper Canada to hasten the growth of their section in the hope that it might eventually surpass Lower Canada in population and therefore in political power.



The Province of Canada made its first appropriation for promoting immigration in 1854<sup>1</sup> in response to the numerous requests which it had been receiving for some time.<sup>2</sup> In order to make the small initial appropriation go as far as possible, the province confined its work in the first few years chiefly to the distribution of pamphlets and other advertising materials in England and on the continent through agencies already in existence. For example, in 1854, an agent of the Bureau of Agriculture visited Great Britain, Ireland, Belgium, and perhaps Germany, studying the production of flax and distributing literature on Canada.<sup>3</sup> In 1856 arrangements were made with Sir Cusack Roney, secretary in London of the Grand Trunk Railroad of Canada and with various emigration commissioners, foreign consuls, ship-owners and agents, and proprietors of newspapers to distribute immigration literature gratuitously.<sup>4</sup>

Canada was to depend heavily upon the publication and distribution of pamphlets in her immigration work. In 1854 William Hutton, secretary of the Bureau of Agriculture, prepared a pamphlet, *Canada: Its present conditions, prospects, and resources, fully described for the information of intending emigrants*, which was widely circulated in England and, in a German translation, upon the continent. Conventional as the pamphlet is, it is somewhat of a contrast to many of the guides for immigrants and advertising pamphlets which were being published by groups interested in directing immigration. Hutton's little pamphlet of a hundred and twenty pages was restrained in tone. The reader was warned that Canada's climate was severe, the winters were long, the summers dry, and crops not always the best. In comparison with the United States, however, one is told that the crops are better, the rate of increase of population is greater, and the opportunities are better suited to British immigrants.

<sup>1</sup>Earlier in 1840, Dr. Thomas Rolph had been sent to England as "emigration agent" and had there given publicity to Canada but his work had led to little results and the appointment was not renewed in 1842. Thomas Rolph's story is told in his own book, *Emigration and colonization: embodying the results of a mission to Great Britain and Ireland, during the years 1830, 1840, 1841 and 1842*. . . (London, 1844).

<sup>2</sup>*Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, 4th parliament, 1st session (1852-1853), 741-2; *ibid.*, 5th parl., 3rd sess. (1857), 37; Public Archives of Canada, Mss. volume, *Agriculture and statistics, letters sent, 1857-18*. . . , William Hutton to W. P. Lett, Feb. 18, 1858. It will be understood hereafter that the manuscript records of the immigration activities of the Canadian government which are cited in this article are in the Public Archives at Ottawa.

<sup>3</sup>*Sessional papers*, Canada, 5th parl., 1st sess. (1854-1855), XV, appendix ii, n.p.: Report of Malcolm Cameron, minister of agriculture, Aug. 20, 1854.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 3rd sess. (1857), paper 54: Report of William Hutton in Annual report of minister of agriculture, 1856.

Slightly later the minister of agriculture purchased six hundred copies of Mrs. C. P. Traill's *The female emigrant's guide and hints on Canadian housekeeping* which were distributed at home and abroad.<sup>5</sup> In 1856 a new pamphlet of twenty-four pages was prepared and translated into German, Norwegian, and French and 6,000 copies were sent for distribution to Germany, 5,000 to Norway, 4,000 to France, and 12,000 to Great Britain. In 1857 still another pamphlet was published with the title *Canada: A brief outline of her geographical position, productions, climate, capabilities, educational and municipal institutions*. For a decade or more this pamphlet was revised almost annually, was printed in countless numbers in the four languages above mentioned, and was distributed lavishly in Great Britain, Ireland, and northern Europe. To provide more specific information on the lands and the free grants a pamphlet by T. P. French, agent for crown land, entitled *Information for intending settlers on the Ottawa and Opeongo Road and its vicinity* was also widely distributed.<sup>6</sup>

By 1857, the Bureau of Agriculture had done much to arouse interest in Canada and to stimulate immigration to that country. Furthermore, the resident agents located at such strategic points as Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, and Kingston had been able to direct a considerable proportion of these immigrants to agricultural districts in Upper and Lower Canada. The Crown Lands Department, by advertising its cheap lands which were available for settlers in frontier sections of the province and by building colonization roads to those sections had aided the Bureau of Agriculture in its efforts to retain the immigrants coming to Canada. As a result, many Scottish, Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants had settled in the newly-opened sections of Canada.

Despite these results it became apparent that Canada was not profiting greatly from her work of promoting immigration, because many immigrants, instead of remaining in the country, were going directly through it and settling in some part of the United States. Statements found in the reports of the agents in Quebec and Montreal in 1856 indicate clearly that most of the continental immigrants were on their way to the United States.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>*Agriculture and statistics, letters sent, 1857-18* . . . : William Hutton to Rev. H. Hope, Feb. 9, 1858. Neither of these pamphlets is listed in *Catalogue of pamphlets in the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa, 1931), prepared by Magdalen Casey.

<sup>6</sup>*Sessional papers*, 5th parl., 3rd sess. (1857), appendix 54: Report of William Hutton.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, appendix 47.

The Norwegian emigrants have all proceeded to Illinois and Wisconsin.

Two vessels from Antwerp brought 249 Belgians. . . [who] were all proceeding to Chicago and Green Bay to friends.

The Germans, 464 in number, were generally in good circumstances, a few families possessing considerable capital, stated their intention of settling in Western Canada, but the chief part proceeded direct to the Western States.

A. C. Buchanan, chief emigrant agent, estimated that of the total number of immigrants arriving at Quebec and Montreal in 1856, forty-one per cent. went on to the United States. He pointed out that practically all of the Norwegians, one-half of the Germans and Irish, and one-sixth of the English and Scottish settled in the latter country.<sup>8</sup> In 1857, out of 72,251 immigrants entering Canada, 37,034 went on to the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Not only was Canada losing many immigrants to the United States but she was also losing many of her own citizens to her southern neighbour. The French Canadians in particular were leaving their homeland for New England and the prairie states. At this time a number of American railroads, land companies, and states were attempting to direct immigration to their localities and their campaigns were being carried out on a large scale. They were sending agents to the eastern part of the United States, to the northern European countries, and to the Canadian provinces in their search for immigrants. Since the Rebellion of 1837 there had been a considerable migration of French Canadians to the United States and it was felt that from Lower Canada there was an opportunity to secure a good class of immigrants. Particular attention was, therefore, paid to the French Canadians.

Alarmed by the exodus of French Canadians, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada appointed a special committee in 1857 to study the causes of this emigration and the means of stopping it.<sup>10</sup> The committee framed a questionnaire on the causes and results of the emigration and sent it to many priests, public

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*: Report of A. C. Buchanan.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 6th parl., 1st sess. (1858), appendix 41: Report of A. C. Buchanan. The statistics in regard to the number of immigrants coming to Canada who settled there and the number who went on to the United States are so untrustworthy, except in a general way, that few will be presented in this paper. It was found impossible in the fifties and early sixties to compute accurately the net gain from immigration because of the many who crossed into the United States and the smaller number who came to Canada via the ports of the United States.

<sup>10</sup>*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 5th parl., 3rd sess. (1857), XV, 74.

officials, and other professional people in Lower Canada and based its report on the replies received from it.<sup>11</sup>

The report stated that there was an alarming movement of French Canadians to the eastern manufacturing states and to the western agricultural states. Illinois especially was attracting many because of the relatively cheap lands which were to be had there on easy terms of credit. Of those going to the western states, the committee reported: "Nearly all . . . contract dangerous diseases which gradually cut them off. Remittent and intermittent fevers, to which they are liable and which are the scourge of the western country, reduce them to a state of pitiable prostration of mind and body." The chief cause for the emigration, the committee found, was the unwise land policy in Canada which had been in force since the eighteenth century. Under this policy ownership of land had become concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and companies which did little to cultivate the lands or to settle people upon them. As land owned by absentees was practically exempt from taxes, the farms of struggling pioneers in the same community had to bear a heavier burden of taxes. Criticism was also directed against the administration of the crown lands and against the timber policy. Among the other causes for the emigration of French Canadians were the poor harvests of recent years, lack of employment in winter, overpopulation in the older communities, higher wages in the United States, and the "attractive and seducing descriptions" given by the earlier emigrants of their new situations. To prevent this emigration the committee recommended that a more liberal land policy be followed toward settlers, that roads be constructed to undeveloped areas to open them up for settlement, and that manufacturing be encouraged by the aid of a protective tariff. The first recommendation was strongly supported by George Brown of the *Toronto Globe*, who felt that Canada could not expect to retain immigrants until she adopted a land policy comparable to the liberal land legislation of the United States.<sup>12</sup>

The desire to check emigration to the United States and the growing opposition to the work of the agents of American railroads and land companies led, in 1858, to the passage of an act to regulate and control such agents. This act provided that no person should be permitted to approach immigrants either in

<sup>11</sup>*Sessional papers*, 5th parl., 3rd sess. (1857), appendix 47: Report of the Special Committee on Emigration.

<sup>12</sup>*Toronto Globe*, June 7, 1859 and later.

Quebec or Montreal with the intention of persuading them to buy passage on steamboats or railroads to any part of Canada or the United States until he had secured a license permitting him to do so. Such a license would only be granted to persons who had been approved by one of the Canadian immigration agents, who had posted a bond of \$300 as security for good behaviour, and who had purchased a license at a price not over \$100.<sup>13</sup> This act was, of course, aimed at the "runners" who infested all ports of immigration and who represented local hotels and lodging houses, railroads and canals, land companies, and western states. The act is more important as an indication of the state of feeling among Canadians towards the American agents than for the practical results it obtained. Some American agents were definitely refused permission to continue their propaganda<sup>14</sup> while others were driven to carry on their work outside of ports of immigration and under cover,<sup>15</sup> but, on the whole, the act was difficult to enforce.

The demand that Canada undertake more active propaganda work abroad led to the appointment of three select committees in 1859 and 1860 to study the question of immigration anew. The committee appointed in 1859 had little time in which to make its study and consequently was not able to present a strong report but its information and recommendations definitely pointed to the need for a more active immigration policy. The committee's report was strongly supported by A. C. Buchanan who recommended the establishment of a government agent in Liverpool.<sup>16</sup> The second committee on immigration was appointed on March 2, 1860, and brought in its report in the following month. This report was based on a more thorough study of the question of immigration and it recommended the appointment of resident agents at Hamburg, Liverpool, Christiania, at some Irish port, and at New York.<sup>17</sup> The third committee, appointed in 1860 to study the expediency of inviting immigrants from France, Belgium, and Switzerland to come to Canada, was composed entirely of French Canadians in contrast to the previous committee which consisted

<sup>13</sup>*Consolidated statutes of Canada* (Toronto, 1858), 527.

<sup>14</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Mss. volume, *Emigration letters sent, 1862-1864*: F. J. Dose to Alex. McAusland, agent, American Emigrant Company.

<sup>15</sup>Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, *Clarke Mss.*: Geo. Sheppard, Toronto, July 5, 1859, to Clarke.

<sup>16</sup>*Sessional papers*, 6th parl., 3rd sess. (1860), paper 18: Report of A. C. Buchanan, 1859.

<sup>17</sup>*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 6th parl., 3rd sess. (1860), XVIII, appendix 4: Report of Select Committee on Emigration, April 23, 1860.

only of English-speaking Canadians. This third committee was apparently appointed to satisfy the French Canadians who felt that the province was paying too much attention in its immigration work to the Protestant countries of northern Europe and too little attention to the Catholic population of France, Belgium, and Switzerland. The committee recommended the appointment of agents to work among the citizens of these three countries and suggested that the headquarters for this work should be at Havre.<sup>18</sup>

The first important step in what was to develop into a great campaign to secure immigrants for Canada was taken in the latter part of 1859 when A. B. Hawke, government "emigrant agent" for Upper Canada since 1832, was sent to England to begin work there. He was instructed to open an office at Liverpool where persons planning to emigrate might obtain information and advertising literature. He was to advertise in such papers as *The Times*, the *Liverpool Times*, *Bell's weekly messenger*, and the *Field*, calling attention to his office and the information and literature available there.<sup>19</sup> Hawke was instructed to circularize the rural papers by sending them copies of the pamphlets and other advertising literature with which he was provided and was to endeavour to secure publicity for himself and his work in these papers as well as in the papers of Liverpool.<sup>20</sup>

It was next determined to begin immigration work upon the continent and accordingly William Wagner, former provincial land surveyor at Ottawa, was sent to Germany by the Crown Lands Department early in 1860. He was provided with maps, pamphlets, and other literature on Canada, was authorized to insert advertisements in the local papers and to make known the advantages of Canada as a home for immigrants. He was especially advised not to encourage a promiscuous emigration of mechanics, clerks, and house-servants, for whom there was no demand at that time in Canada, but rather he was to urge the emigration of small farmers and agricultural labourers who would be content to settle upon the land.<sup>21</sup>

Wagner lectured before groups at Berlin, Breslau, Frankfort,

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, appendix 15: Report of Select Committee appointed to consider the expediency of inviting emigration from France, Belgium and Switzerland to Canada, May 19, 1860.

<sup>19</sup>*Agriculture and statistics, letters sent, 1857-18* . . . , Hutton to A. B. Hawke, March 15, 1860; *Emigration and statistics, letters sent, 1860*, same to same, April 19, 1860.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*: Hutton to Hawke, April 26, 1860.

<sup>21</sup>See *Sessional papers*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1860), IV, paper 21: Letters of instruction of A. C. Buchanan of Jan. 30, 1860, and of P. M. Vankoughnet, commissioner of crown lands, Feb. 11, 1860.

Hirschberg, and other points, posted maps of Canada in many German railroad stations, advertised in and wrote articles for the local newspapers, distributed the pamphlets, exhibited grain and other commodities produced in Canada, and arranged with a number of private emigration agents to conduct similar work for him in southern Germany. Wagner found the work in Germany difficult because of the opposition of other agents subsidized by the representatives of Brazil, Cape Colony, and of the American railroads. His horror of these "dealers in human flesh" was expressed as follows: "These agents at the south are the most abominable of things, and I would be satisfied to have nothing to do with any of them, but I cannot help it."<sup>22</sup> Judging by the criticisms of a later investigating committee, Wagner's work, which involved the expenditure of well over \$6,000, was unsatisfactory and it would appear that his selection for the position was unfortunate.<sup>23</sup>

The Canadians were even more hopeful of inducing Norwegians to come to their territory. They felt that the climate and the opportunities in the fishing industry and in agriculture should make Canada a desirable field for settlement to the Norwegians. Little time was lost, therefore, in sending an agent to Norway. Helge Hangan (or Haugan) who had lived in the Eastern Townships for some time was employed to visit the important seaports and inland towns of Norway "to diffuse a knowledge of Canada by distributing maps and pamphlets on Canada in Norwegian". He was asked to stress in his work the districts of Sault Ste. Marie, Lake Nipissing, the Ottawa country, St. Maurice territory in the Eastern Townships, and Gaspé in Lower Canada which, it was hoped, would become Norwegian settlements.<sup>24</sup> Hangan opened an office in Christiania where material and information could be secured by anyone interested in Canada and then journeyed north to Trondhjem which he made his northern headquarters. On his trip he stopped at the important points, distributing pamphlets, holding meetings, and endeavouring to attract people's attention not only to the agricultural possibilities of Canada but also to her fishing industry. He advertised extensively and was able to secure the publication of much material on Canada in the press.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1862), IV, paper 21: Wagner to Vankoughnet, March 11, 1862.

<sup>23</sup>See *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 7th parl., 1st sess., appendix 1: Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization, May 17, 1862.

<sup>24</sup>*Emigration and statistics, letters sent, 1857-18* . . . : Hutton to Hangan, March 1, 1860.



His correspondence was wide, including letters from people as far north as Lefoten, Tenewarken, and Vardoe.<sup>25</sup>

Slightly later, Christopher Closter, who had been connected with immigration work in Canada for some time, was sent to Norway to supplement the work of Hangan. Closter took with him "certificates of satisfaction" signed by some of the Norwegian settlers at Gaspé and gave them wide publicity in Norway. His work soon brought him into fierce conflict with interests opposed to emigration to Canada. He was bitterly attacked by Oscar Malmborg, Scandinavian agent of the Illinois Central Railroad, and even more bitterly by the Reverend G. F. Dietrichson. Closter published a pamphlet upholding the claims of Canada and seems to have held his own in the controversy. He succeeded in drawing to Gaspé a number of Norwegian families who promised to become the nucleus of an important colony.<sup>26</sup>

Early in 1861 it was determined to enlarge the scope of the immigration work in the British Isles and A. C. Buchanan was sent to England to take over the work previously managed by Hawke. Buchanan continued the office in Liverpool but spent much of his time in visiting the rural sections of Ireland and Scotland and the midland counties of England. He circulated the pamphlets widely, sending quantities to the government emigration offices, to all the leading passenger brokers and shipping agents, to the agricultural and commercial institutions, and to the industrial and reform schools of Great Britain. The Reverend Henry Hope of Toronto, who had been assisting in promoting emigration to Canada for a number of years, partly on his own account and partly for the Canadian government, was engaged to compile information for emigrants and to circulate it in the English Counties of Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Derbyshire, and also in Wales and in France. Three other agents or companies were engaged to distribute the advertising material which Buchanan furnished. Feeling that his activities were successful in winning immigrants for Canada, Buchanan recommended that the work be enlarged still further by the appointment of additional

<sup>25</sup>*Sessional papers*, 6th parl., 4th sess. (1861), IV (23): William Hutton in Annual report of the minister of agriculture, 1860.

<sup>26</sup>Theodore C. Blegen, "An early Norwegian settlement in Canada" (*Annual report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1930, 84-7); Paul W. Gates, "The campaign of the Illinois Central Railroad for Norwegian and Swedish immigrants" (*Norwegian-American studies and records*, VI, 1931, 72).



agents who should spend their full time in Ireland, which, he felt, was a most fruitful field for promoting immigration.<sup>27</sup>

Before Buchanan's recommendation was made, John A. Donaldson had been sent to northern Ireland to carry on the same type of work that the former was doing in England. Donaldson opened an office at Londonderry, announced his arrival by advertisements, distributed handbills and pamphlets, attended the agricultural show at Belfast where he was able to get in touch with many people interested in emigrating, and travelled through northern Ireland and Scotland interviewing interested people. He was assisted by the agents of the Grand Trunk Railroad and of the British American Land Company who were equally interested in promoting emigration to Canada.<sup>28</sup> Donaldson's work in Scotland was supplemented by Alexander McLachlan who was engaged to tour that country, especially the rural sections, lecturing on Canada as a field for immigration. McLachlan was also to prepare a report on the condition of the emigrating classes and the best means of making known to them the advantages of Canada.<sup>29</sup> A Mr. Fox was also sent to Ireland by the Crown Lands Department where he was engaged in distributing large land-maps in Belfast, Dublin, Derry, Galway, and other centres.<sup>30</sup> Finally in 1861 a third person, E. J. Charlton, was sent to southern Ireland to duplicate there what Donaldson was doing in the north. Charlton found that the authorities of the church were willing to assist him, perhaps because they felt it was better for their charges to go to a Catholic province like Lower Canada than to a Protestant country like the United States.<sup>31</sup>

The last foreign appointment made at this time was that of A. H. Verret who was to promote immigration from western Europe. It would appear that this appointment, made on the recommendation of the committee appointed to consider the expediency of inviting immigration from France, Belgium, and Switzerland, was largely political though there may have existed some feeling that it might be possible to induce immigration from

<sup>27</sup>*Imperial blue books*, XXXIV (355), 16-7; *Sessional papers*, 7th parl., 1st sess., (1862). II (4), Report of A. C. Buchanan.

<sup>28</sup>Donaldson's and Charlton's activities are discussed in their letters published in *Sessional papers*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1862), IV (21), and in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1862), appendix 1, Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization, May 17, 1862.

<sup>29</sup>*Emigration letters sent, 1862-1864*: A. J. Cambie to Alexander McLachlan, July 25, 1862; E. Campbell to same, Sept. 2, 1862.

<sup>30</sup>*Agriculture and statistics, letters sent, 1860*: Hutton to Buchanan, March 28, 1861.

<sup>31</sup>*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1862), appendix 1.

these countries. In any case Verret proceeded to France where he waited six weeks for permission to begin work, only to find that the obstructions which were raised would prevent him from accomplishing anything. He then proceeded to Belgium and Switzerland where he made use of the press to announce his arrival and succeeded in arousing some small interest in Canada but with little result.<sup>32</sup>

Supplementary to the work of these agents was the publication of huge quantities of pamphlets in English, French, German, and Norwegian. A number of new pamphlets were published: *Caird's slanders on Canada answered & refuted*; *Caird's erroneous views of Canada answered and refuted*; *Letters from Canada*, and *Canada, 1849 to 1859* by Alexander T. Galt. Revised editions were also brought out of the *Canadian settlers guide* and *Canada: A brief outline*.<sup>33</sup>

Continued interest in promoting immigration led, on April 28, 1862, to the appointment by the Legislative Assembly of yet another committee to consider the subject of immigration and colonization with Thomas D'Arcy McGee as chairman.<sup>34</sup> Although McGee had long been a champion of government promotion of immigration the committee recommended the withdrawal of the foreign agents until the undertaking could be reorganized in such a way as to provide more supervision over the work of the agents and better integration of their activities. It was apparent to the committee that some of the agents had not been wisely selected and should not be re-appointed. Political influence had made possible the entrance into the service of weak and inefficient persons.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, one wonders whether some of the positions were not created to provide openings for office-seekers and whether one of the motives behind the demand for promotion of immigration was not the desire on the part of importunate office-seekers to obtain a sinecure.

Another criticism of Canadian promotion of immigration which was raised, both at this time and later, was that the agents, con-

<sup>32</sup>See letters of Verret describing his difficulties in both France and Belgium in *Sessional papers*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1862), IV (21), and criticism of same in *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1862), appendix 1, Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization, May 17, 1862.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. W. A. Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles* (London, 1929), 211. It is here stated: "There was no active demand for emigrants and no attempt at advertisement such as followed the Confederation of the Provinces."

<sup>34</sup>*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 7th parl., 1st sess. (1862), XX, 125.

<sup>35</sup>For a frank statement of the necessity of possessing political influence to secure government positions see *Emigration and statistics, letters sent, 1860*: Letter of William Hutton to Alex. Wiman, April 10, 1860.

trary to their instructions, were inducing undesirable classes of people to migrate to Canada who, in many cases, proved unable to support themselves. The instructions to the foreign agents always stressed that the type of immigrant which was most desired was the farmer with a sufficient amount of capital to enable him to purchase a farm and to provide the necessary equipment for it. At times labourers for construction work were also desired by the government but after 1857 there was little demand for additional unskilled labour. The agents were strongly advised to discourage promiscuous immigration of the poor, maid-servants, office-workers, and other people who were ill-prepared to cope with frontier conditions in the rural communities. In order, however, to make the results of their work as large as possible, the agents were inclined to encourage the migration of all classes, many of whom subsequently became burdens upon the government.<sup>36</sup>

The Bureau of Agriculture, in accordance with the recommendations of the committee, withdrew its foreign agents, not with the idea of bringing its immigration work to an end but rather to permit further study of the desirability of maintaining foreign agents. As the minister of agriculture pointed out, the results of the agents' labours "had been comparatively trifling in numbers, but at a cost entirely disproportionate thereto".<sup>37</sup> It seemed that the amount of immigration coming to Canada had not been greatly affected by the campaign for immigration which had been undertaken. But such advertising work does not always bear fruit at once and it is probably correct to say that Canada had been more effectively advertised than it had ever been before and that many people eventually decided to settle in Canada who might otherwise have gone to some other part of the British Empire or to the United States.

In spite of the seeming failure of Canada's work in promoting immigration many Canadians felt that the province could not afford to abandon foreign work entirely. To do so would leave the field to the agents of other British colonies, of American states, railroads, and land companies, and of some of the South American states. The provincial government, in self-defence against foreign attacks on Canada as a field for immigration and in response to the ever-increasing demand from her own citizens, was virtually

<sup>36</sup>This criticism of the work of the foreign agents was frequently given but nowhere more clearly than in the *Report of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Colonization*, 1st parl., 1st sess. (1867-1868), I, appendix 8.

<sup>37</sup>*Sessional papers*, 7th parl., 2nd sess. (1863), III, 4: Annual report of F. Evanturel, 1862.

forced to resume its campaign for immigration. Furthermore, the foreign agents had not been recalled solely because they seemed to be accomplishing so little in the way of tangible results but rather because the minister of agriculture and the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization felt that such action must be taken in order that the government might consolidate the work in one department, organize it on a more efficient basis with a definite plan, and bring to an end the haphazard method of making appointments which had prevailed. For the remainder of the provincial period the foreign work was on a smaller scale but was organized more efficiently.

Buchanan was sent to England in February, 1863, to resume his work there and all foreign activities were placed directly under his supervision.<sup>38</sup> He prepared a further edition of the pamphlet on immigration and published a large quantity for distribution. He announced the opening of his agency in a hundred and twenty-three leading journals in Great Britain and quickly developed a large correspondence. He commissioned a number of agents to distribute the pamphlet throughout England and Scotland and sent Charlton to Ireland to resume his work there. Charlton published an abbreviated edition of Buchanan's work and distributed it in Cork, Limerick, and portions of Louth, Carlow, Kildare, Wicklow, Queens, Tipperary, Waterford, Cork, Clare, and Roscommon Counties.<sup>39</sup> He also arranged with the editor of an emigration gazette in Rudolstadt, Germany, to translate the pamphlet and publish it in his paper and also to publish it separately for distribution in that country. Buchanan's place was later taken by William Dixon who continued the activities which the former had begun. Under Dixon's direction Great Britain was literally flooded with pamphlets and advertising material of various kinds and lecturers were sent throughout the rural sections to discourse on Canada and her advantages. This was the period when a person had only "to announce a lecture illustrated by experiments, or diagrams, or magic lantern pictures, to secure an overflowing audience",<sup>40</sup> and the immigration agents did not fail to take advantage of this fact in planning their work.

The only important change in the foreign immigration work

<sup>38</sup>*Emigration letters sent, 1862-1864*: Campbell to Buchanan, Jan. 29, 1863; Evan-turel to same, Feb. 5, 1863.

<sup>39</sup>*Sessional papers*, 8th parl., 2nd sess. (1864), III (32): Reports of Buchanan and Charlton in Annual report of the minister of agriculture, 1863.

<sup>40</sup>*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 7th parl., 2nd sess. (1863), XXI, appendix 3: James Alexander to A. C. Buchanan, Edinburgh, April 8, 1863 in the third report of the Committee on Immigration and Colonization.

before Confederation was the substitution of a newspaper, the *Emigration gazette*, for the annually revised pamphlets which had been relied upon previously. The *Gazette* could be published oftener than the old pamphlets, with frequently revised material, at less expense and, therefore, could be distributed more widely. The pamphlets were not discontinued but for a time the *Gazette* was used more widely and perhaps more effectively.

This brings to a close the story of the efforts made by the Province of Canada to secure what her people thought to be her rightful share of European emigration. One may doubt whether the work was really necessary to bring immigrants to Canada but, as long as other nations and sections were expending great sums to attract them, it seemed necessary for Canada to do the same. It is interesting to note that the years of greatest activity do not generally correspond with the years in which the largest number of immigrants came to Canada. This would seem to suggest that an additional reason for Canadian promotion of immigration was the desire to offset the declining numbers coming to Canada during the depression years of 1857 to 1860. The two chief difficulties against which Canada was struggling were the Canadian land system, which was less liberal than the American land system, and the attraction which the United States with its greater economic opportunities for labourers and capitalists had over the industrially backward country to the north. Moreover, the Canadian agents frequently found themselves unable to compete with the agents of the Australian colonies who could even pay the passage of immigrants to that continent. Canada could not be sure that, if she did pay the passages of immigrants, they would stay in Canadian territory.<sup>41</sup> As for the land system, since the beginning of the foreign immigration work critics had been active in pointing out the futility of attempting to induce immigrants to come to Canada as long as her land system remained as illiberal as it was. Such criticism led to the gradual liberalization of the system but the movement was too slow for many and Buchanan could say as late as 1867, that, in his judgment, the lack of liberal land laws continued to impel many immigrants, who otherwise would have settled in Canada, to go on through that country to the United States.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup>*Agriculture and statistics, letters sent, 1862*: Campbell to D. J. T. Brown, March 7, 1863.

<sup>42</sup>*Sessional papers*, 1st parl., 1st sess. (1867), III (3), 13: Report of the minister of agriculture, 1867.

In conclusion it should be stated that the Canadians were certainly not convinced that their immigration activities were not a success. Immediately after Confederation, the dominion and the provinces together embarked upon an extensive campaign to secure for Canada a larger share of European immigration. The experiences and errors of the earlier campaigns were of much assistance in the later movement and the general result of the promotion of immigration was to bring to Canada many thousands of people who have helped to build up the great dominion of to-day.

PAUL W. GATES

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### DAVID THOMPSON AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

IN volume 35 of David Thompson's journals, now in the Provincial Archives of Ontario, is a statement in his handwriting covering six foolscap pages giving an account of the journeys made by himself and his associates of the North West Company into and across the Rocky Mountains between the years 1800 and 1812. It was used, with the material in the other volumes of Thompson's journals, in the preparation of the Champlain Society's edition of *David Thompson's narrative* (Toronto, 1916), but where so much material was available, this document was not specifically mentioned. It is entitled *Discoveries from the east side of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean by David Thompson*, and is here printed in full.

In 1800 the partners of the North West Company, who were assembled at Grand Portage (here referred to as Fort William, though the headquarters of the company were not moved to Fort William till the following year), decided to send some one across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean from the head of the Saskatchewan River, starting from Rocky Mountain House which had been built in the previous year.

It is interesting to speculate on the motives which induced the partners to come to this decision. Alexander Mackenzie, one of the former partners of the North West Company, had, in 1793, made his dangerous but successful journey from the upper waters of the Peace River through the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. He was justly proud of his accomplishment, but his partners had not shown much appreciation of it. Moreover, he and Simon McTavish, one of the controlling spirits of the North West Company, were unfriendly towards each other, and found it impossible to work together. In consequence Mackenzie had left the North West Company and was at this time in England making arrangements to publish his book of travels, where he was being treated as a hero. Simon McTavish may have been piqued at this, and therefore may have decided to send one of his own people to perform a journey which would be equally spectacular, and at the same time might be more profitable. As the man to head the expedition, he chose his nephew, Duncan McGillivray,



a man in the prime of his manhood, popular with his companions, and a good writer. McGillivray was ordered to proceed to Rocky Mountain House, and was expected to arrive there in September. He did not, however, arrive until October 23.

David Thompson had gone there from Fort George in the spring of that year, arriving on April 7, and on May 5 he had started down the Saskatchewan River to Grand Portage, from which place he returned in the autumn to Rocky Mountain House. Much of October had been spent by him, with five of his men, in making a trip up Red Deer River, first to visit a camp of Piegan Indians, and then to meet some Kutenai Indians from west of the Rocky Mountains who were coming to visit the men at his new trading post on the Saskatchewan. He intimates in the following document that he intended to cross the mountains on this occasion but there is nothing in his original notes to show that such was the case. He accompanied the Kutenai Indians to the trading post, and on October 23 he sent them back to their own country. On the evening of that day, after returning from accompanying these Indians a short distance on their way, he met McGillivray just arriving from the east, accompanied by Mr. Bird of the Hudson's Bay Company.

From November 17 to December 3, he and McGillivray, with four men, made a trip to a camp of the Piegans south of Askow or Bow River. Thompson was doubtless an excellent guide on this trip, for in going to the Piegan camp he was revisiting friends and acquaintances with whom he had lived thirteen years before, when he had spent a winter in the tent of Saukamappee. After their return to Rocky Mountain House, Thompson did not do any more travelling that winter, but McGillivray made a trip to Brazeau Lake and the headwaters of Athabaska River. The routes taken on these three journeys are clearly outlined in *David Thompson's narrative* (pp. lxxx and lxxxi).

During the remainder of the winter of 1800-1 McGillivray was laid up with rheumatism, but in the spring or summer he was able to travel to Fort William. Before he went he instructed Thompson and Hughes "to cross the mountains and discover the Columbia river", but as the party sent on this expedition was poorly organized and improperly and inadequately equipped, the mountains were not crossed and the Columbia River was not *discovered*. After this unsuccessful trip into the mountains, Thompson remained at Rocky Mountain House for most of the summer of 1801, and until the spring of 1802, when he started



down the Saskatchewan River for Fort William. Later in the year he was transferred to Peace River.

Mackenzie had now received the honour of knighthood, his book had been published, he had returned to Montreal and had been welcomed there with open arms. It was probably no longer worth while for Simon McTavish to try to set up a rival to him in the North West Company, and the attempt to cross the mountains to the Columbia River by the headwaters of the Saskatchewan River was abandoned. In 1804, however, McTavish died, Mackenzie again became a partner in the North West Company, and any consideration that was given to the crossing of the mountains was henceforth on a strictly business basis.

The expedition of Lewis and Clarke, equipped by the American government, and sent westward from St. Louis, reached the mouth of the Columbia River in November, 1805, and it certainly directed the imagination of the people of eastern America to the resources of the west.

In 1806 Thompson was sent back to Rocky Mountain House, and in 1807 he ascended the Saskatchewan River to its source, crossed the continental divide, descended Blaeberry River to the Columbia, and ascended that stream to the Upper Columbia Lake, just below which he built Fort Kootenai, where he remained for the winter. In the spring of 1808 he crossed Canal Flat and began the descent and survey of the Kootenay River, which, he says, he named "McGillivray's in honour of the family to whom may justly be attributed the knowledge and commerce of the Columbia river". He continued down this river to Kootenay Lake, from which he returned upstream some distance, obtained horses, and returned by the Moyie trail to the Columbia Lakes. From here he went eastward with furs to Rainy Lake, and returning west he wintered at Fort Kootenai. In 1809 he built Kullyspell and Saleesh Houses, at the latter of which he spent the winter.

On his arrival at Rainy Lake in 1810 he learned of the despatch of the Astor party by ship to the mouth of the Columbia River to establish a post there to trade with the Indians. He was immediately ordered to go and *oppose* them. There was clearly no thought or intention of trying to anticipate their arrival at the mouth of the Columbia, but the intention was to do as they had been doing for many years with the Hudson's Bay Company and their other rivals in the fur-trade, namely, build a fort beside them and undersell them.

He was prevented by the Piegan Indians from using his accustomed route by the headwaters of the Saskatchewan River, and was obliged to open up a new route in the dead of winter across country to Athabasca River, up that river through what is now Jasper Park to Athabasca Pass, and down Wood River to Columbia River at the mouth of Canoe River. After spending the remainder of the winter here, he embarked on the Columbia River on April 17, ascended it to Columbia Lakes, descended Kootenay River, crossed to Clark's Fork, descended it, crossed to Spokane House, and thence back to the Columbia River, which he descended to its mouth.

The original of the document which follows is written in a good clear hand, but unfortunately a few words are illegible.

J. B. TYRRELL

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DISCOVERIES FROM THE EAST SIDE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS TO THE  
PACIFIC OCEAN BY DAVID THOMPSON

By arrangements made at Fort William [Grand Portage] Mr. Duncan McGillivray was to be early at the Rocky Mountain House, about the latter end of September 1800 to prepare for crossing the Mountains proceeding to the Pacific Ocean the next year. Soon after my arrival at the Rocky Mountain House I engaged Eoapistion a Hunter and Nappé Kigow a Peagan Chief to go in search of the Kootanaes, who dwell at the Head of the Columbia River. On the 5th October with 5 Men and the two Indians set for Red Deer's River the great south branch of the Saskatchewan to cross the Mountains by the defiles from that River, we proceeded S Ely to the Red Deer's River, which we crossed and went up along it to the Woody Hills, which bound the east side of the Mountains, on the 9 & 10 bad weather with Snow about 1 foot deep. On the 14 by 2 young Men we learned the Kootanae Indians were crossing the Mountains. With the 2 Indians and three Men I set off. We entered the defile about 22 miles to the high Cliffs. Here we met the Kootanaes the Old Chief 26 Men and 7 Women. They had only 11 Horses with a few Furrs. On the 20th October we all arrived at the House, having frequently had to fight our way thro' the Peagan Indians by force of Arms. On the 22nd the Kootanaes went off. On the 23rd with La Gassé and Le Blanc who are to winter with them I set off to see these Indians safe in the Passes of the Mountains. We came up with them and took leave of the two Men and the Indians, advised them to hasten their Journey, and returned to the House. On my arrival saw Mr. Duncan McGillivray on the other side the River just

arrived from Fort William a Month later than he intended. Crossed to him. He was very anxious to see the Kootanae Indians, but they were too far advanced. Mr. D. McGillivray remained quiet, when from my account of the Country to the Southward he wished to see it. On the 17 November we set off with 4 Men and an Indian guide to visit the great Camps of Peagan Indians on the Askow River, and on December 3rd returned to the House. Soon after Mr. Duncan McGillivray with an indian Guide and 3 Men set off to examine the defiles of the Mountains by the north Branch [Brazeau River] and in about 14 days returned finding that they were apparently impassable for Horses &c. Thus ended the year 1800. In all these journies Mr. D. McGillivray to show he was more than equal to me in bearing hardship, took no precautions against the effect of exposure to the weather, wet feet and the consequence was that early in February he began to feel attacks of acute rheumatism which became so violent as to oblige him to keep his bed, and even the warm weather moderated the disease to allow him to go on crutches, in which state he embarked for Fort William. Before leaving the Place, he ordered Mr. Hughes and myself with 6 Men to cross the Mountains and discover the Columbia River, but the arrangements were such that I saw plainly the whole was hopeless. Mr. Hughes engaged a Nahathaway Indian Guide who conducted thro' defiles which at length had no outlet, and we returned and thus ended the business of 1801. After which the whole was an affair entirely forgotten or ridiculed until the expedition of Captains Lewis and Clarke. Then an impulse was given and an order to cross the                    the means for which was too limited. I was ordered on this expedition; for which preparations were made in the latter part of 1806 and winter of 1807. On the 10 May 1807 One Canoe Mr. Finan McDonald and 5 Men left the House to proceed up the River as far as navigable, and myself with 3 Men and Horses by land to Hunt and help the Canoe. On the 25 June we crossed the height of the defile and came on the Brook that descends to the Columbia River which we followed down with much danger to the Men and Horses. The Brook soon became a rapid Stream rushing down the defile, which we had frequently to cross; on the 30 June we came to the Columbia River; built Canoes and went up it about 70 Miles to near the second Lake, July 20th, where we put ashore to build a House &c and we remained here the rest of the year 1807.

I often wished to explore the country, but small Parties of the Peagan frequently came to see what we were about and threatened to cut us off, as they hate the Kootanaes, often steal their Horses and plunder them. At length on the 2nd October I set off with a Flat Bow Chief to visit the River of that tribe, which on the evening of the same day I crossed

150 yds. with fine clear water, then followed it down for 38 Miles. Here a range of secondary Mountains came on the River, requiring 4 days to cross them, which not having time to do, and fearing the Peagan Indians, I returned, and arrived on the 6th October. No further discovery made.

In 1808 on the 20th April in a Canoe set off and by the Kootanae lake went to the Flat Bow River, now called McGillivray River, and down that River to the evening of the 25 April thro' a fine country to the junction of Meadow River from the Southward. Here we staid 2 days looking for Indians then to the 14th descending this fine River to the Flat Bow Lake. Here we found 2 Camps of Indians.

The melting of the Snow in the Mountains had now flooded the River and inundated the country so that no Indian could be found to guide me to the Saleesh River to the Southward. I had to buy Horses and go back by Land and return to the Kootanae Lake with great danger and difficulty, from the rugged steep Hills, and Mountain Torrents we had to cross. From the Kootanae Lake, head of the Columbia River, we went and crossed the Rocky Mountains to the Saskatchewan River. On the 21st June crossed the Height of Land, and on the Brooks of the Saskatchewan, we proceeded on to where we had a Canoe, embarked and on the 2nd August at Lac La Pluie Fort. On the 4 Augst. set off for the interior countries and the Rocky Mountains. On the 27th October crossed the Height of Land to the Brooks of the Columbia River. On the 10 November at the Kootanae House and Mr. Finan McDonald with One Canoe Men & Goods to McGillivray's River and the Lake Indian Country. Passed the rest of the Winter at the Kootanae House head of the Columbia River. 1809. The Partners of the Coy. allow of no further discoveries but only trading Posts upon a small scale, and I have means for nothing else. In the Spring got all ready with 54 Packs, crossed the Mountains on the 7th June. Made 2 Canoes, and went down the Saskatchewan River. On the 24 June at Fort Augustus, sent Mr. McMillan and 2 Canoes with 50 Packs to Lac la Pluie. getting remains of goods to 14 July. Then set off to recross the Mountains. August 8 crossed the Height of Land and went on to the Columbia River. August 20 at McGillivray's River. Aug. 24 at Poil de Castor but no person to guide us as promised. August 27th at the Saleesh Road to that River. September 9th at the Saleesh River, having crossed by land. Looked for and found a place to build a House.

September 11th, 1809 began building. September 27th to October 6 evening, examined the River to near where it joins the Columbia. October 11 went to meet the people with the goods from Lac la Pluie. Traversed a wild Country then to the Lake Indian River &c, and met the Canoes and got Horses to transport all to the House by the Lake

Indian Road. November 9 arrived. Here we passed the rest of the year of 1809.

1810 Latitude 47° 29' N. April 15 set off to recross the Mountains with the Furrs &c to Lac la Pluie, where we arrived July 22nd, 1810. Mr. Astor having engaged some of the Clerks of the N.W. Co'y formed a Company and sent a vessel around Cape Horn to the Columbia; everything was changed. Instead of threatening to break up everything from the Columbia River, I was now obliged to take 4 Canoes, and to proceed to the mouth of the Columbia to oppose them. Accordingly I set off from Lac la Pluie. I had often requested permission to change the route across the Mountains, as we must sooner, or later, be cut off by the Peagan Indians, but the great Partners assured me there was no danger, but this year when near the Mountains, as usual with a Hunter, I left the Canoes for a day or two to get provisions. I passed on and left the Canoes, and killed 3 Red Deer for them. Finding the Canoes did not come I sent Mr. Wm. Henry and an Indian to learn the cause, and to beware of the Enemies, they returned at Night having seen a strong Camp of Peagans which [had] driven the Canoes down; and saw where the Canoe Men had made fences of Stone to defend themselves, and were so imprudent as to fire a Gun. This event was a

I always dreaded, and at dawn of day we had to ride for our lives. They followed us most of the day, but Snow coming on covered our Tracks. I had now to find the Canoes and men, and with Horses cross to the Athabasca River—& make arrangements for crossing the Mountains, which took the rest of the year 1810.

1811. On the 1 Jany began our journey to cross the Mountains, and on the 12 Jany we had crossed and camped on the Canoe River, but it was the 26 Jany before we found a place to pass the rest of the winter. Here 3 of the Men from Mr. Hughes deserted to cross the Men [*sic*], fear had so much got the better of their reason. Built a Canoe of Cedar Boards, and on the 17 April set off up the Columbia River. May 19th at the Great Road leading to the Saleesh River—sent off 2 Men (1 Indian) to search for the Indians to procure Horses. On the 27th May at the Saleesh House, found it deserted. Went across the River on the 28th. On the 29th began to get Cedar &c to make a Canoe—finished it and was of great use to us—then with Horses crossed the Country to 11th Koy ape Falls on the Columbia River on June 19th. Having built a Canoe of Cedar Wood on July 3rd with 7 Men and myself set off to explore the River to the Pacific Ocean. July 15 arrived at Mr. Astor's Factory under the charge of Messrs. McDougal and Stuart. July 22nd set off for the interior country, and no further discoveries this year. In 1812 I ascended the Columbia to the Athabasca Portage, thence to Lake Superior and to Montreal.

## THE INDIAN MENACE AND THE RETENTION OF THE WESTERN POSTS

THE following extracts from documents, which are contained in the *Chatham papers* at the Public Record Office, London, form an interesting sequel to Professor Burt's article, "A new approach to the problem of the western posts" (*Canadian Historical Association report*, 1931). Although written late in 1794 when negotiations for Jay's Treaty were already nearing completion, they tend to substantiate Professor Burt's thesis that the fur-trade was not the predominant motive for retaining the posts but rather "the fear of a great Indian war engulfing the vast country between the Mississippi and the Ohio".

Although the recipient is not named, Lord Hawkesbury's letter was obviously addressed to Lord Grenville; and it is evident that the secretary of state and at least one member of the Cabinet regarded the problem of pacifying the natives as a serious one. Hawkesbury, who had been president of the new Council for Trade and Plantations since 1786, knew more about colonial affairs than did most people in the government. The members of his council never took their duties very seriously—occasionally the president was the only member present—but the situation was naturally discussed, for as Professor Burt has pointed out the government was besieged with all sorts of petitions on the subject. Yet, it was only when the abandonment of the posts became inevitable, when the last step was about to be taken, that Lord Hawkesbury showed himself fearful of the Indian peril, which hitherto he seemed to have under-estimated or ignored: "I never saw this point in so serious a light, till I had read one of the papers you sent me." He refers probably to the undated memorandum of Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish which is chiefly concerned with a discussion of the fur-trade, and from which I have made only a brief extract.

G. S. GRAHAM

[Transcribed from the *Chatham papers*, G.D. 8-152.]

Oct. 17th. 1794. Addiscombe Place,  
Lord Hawkesbury to [Lord Grenville].

My dear Lord,

I received last night the Box and letter you sent me, and although I am so unfortunate as to differ with your Lordship in opinion on one important point in the American negotiation, yet I am happy to comply

with your Lordships wishes in giving all the articles of the proposed treaty the best consideration I am able. I have read over all the Papers very carefully: and you will find written in the margin of each article such observations as have occurred to me. I agree with you in thinking that it is absolutely necessary we should reserve a right to mediate for the Indians so that we may not appear wholly to have abandoned them. I never saw this point in so serious a light, till I had read one of the Papers you sent me. The Indians will charge us with Treachery. They may massacre all the English now settled among them, and the war which they now wage against the Americans may be turned into an Indian war against us.

I have made no reservations on the Article which relates to the commercial intercourse between the U.S. and the W.I's. I consider this Point as irrevocably decided, against the opinion I have always entertained and publicly professed. To this part only of the present Transaction I object; I have already assigned most of the reasons on which my opinion is founded. I now send you my observations on the articles drawn, I fear they are incorrect, but I have had but a short time to consider them. I wish for many reasons, that if there is to be any Cabinet on the point, on which we differ, I may not be summoned to it. My attendance may occasion discussion which cannot now be of any use.

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[Transcribed from the *Chatham papers*, G.D. 8-846.]

Observations by Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish,  
representing the principal Houses in Canada interested  
in carrying on the Indian Trade to the North West.

... Most of the Posts where the Traders winter are within the Limits claimed by the Americans (part of the trade from the Grand Portage excepted) and several of the Trading places on the Mississippi are on the Spanish side of that River, and all the lands in that country (the Forts and environs excepted) are the property of the Indians and ought in justice to them to be declared neutral Ground, free alike for British and American subjects to Trade in, and to pass the posts of each other without restriction or hindrance, but before giving up the Posts both Countries ought to unite to obtain a just and proper Peace between the Americans and Indians, and each to guarantee it and declare their intention to protect the subjects of the other, who may meet with injuries from the Indians; for was the Posts to be delivered up, or an intention of doing so made known previous to such arrangement, it is probable the Indians thinking they were to be abandoned by the



British would in resentment destroy all the Traders in their country, as also the defenceless inhabitants in Upper Canada.

On arranging matters with America should it be concluded to cede to them the Posts, we now occupy within the limits prescribed by the Treaty of Paris, it should be held perfectly secret from the Indians, until completely settled as before mentioned—and then to allow at least 3 years before delivering them up, for the British subjects to regulate their trade, withdraw such of their property and people as they may deem necessary from the Indian country.

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#### INCIDENTS OF THE REPEAL AGITATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

THE agitation for repeal of the British North America Act of 1867 and the release of Nova Scotia from the bonds of Confederation may be said, without making a bull, to have lasted from 1866, when frantic efforts were made, including a petition signed by 31,000 Nova Scotians, to prevent the passing of the bill, until 1869, when Howe, having given up all hope of redress through the imperial government, was prevailed upon to accept "Better Terms" and to enter the Cabinet of the dominion. But the agitation was most vigorous during the year 1868, when the anti-confederate legislature of Nova Scotia held two sessions on the question, petitioned the crown and parliament, organized twenty-six meetings throughout the province, sent a special delegation to London for the purpose, and left no stone unturned to obtain its ends. It was in this year that the incidents recorded below occurred.<sup>1</sup> They reveal at a glance the strained relations existing locally as well as the interest with which Nova Scotia's actions were watched by not altogether disinterested sympathizers in the United States.

The first set of documents is a by-product of the repeal agitation and gives the only account I have been able to find of a frank and open plea for annexation to the United States. In the editorials of the local newspapers, as well as in some of the speeches and propaganda of that date, there are veiled references to annexation, as the better of two evils, in the event of desertion by the imperial government; but they may be interpreted as "bluff", with a view to bringing pressure upon the imperial government to release Nova Scotia from Canada. The editor of the *Bluenose*, however, seems to be in earnest; and, besides his editorial, he devotes about half his space to an exposition of the economic

<sup>1</sup>See Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Lieutenant-governors' correspondence*, 1868.



advantages of annexation. I have not been able to find a second issue of the *Bluenose*.

The second series of documents illustrates the conflict between the representatives of the dominion and provincial governments in regard to the proposed celebration of July 1, 1868. They are their own interpreters.

The third group of documents is extremely illuminating as to local, imperial, and international relations. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that Martin I. Wilkins, the attorney-general in the Annand government, which rode to power on the anti-confederate whirlwind, was the most active repealer in the provincial government. He was the grandson of Isaac Wilkins, a Loyalist who later returned to a Church of England rectory in New York, the son of Mr. Justice L. M. Wilkins, and also brother to Mr. Justice L. M. Wilkins the second. He was noted as a wit and also as a determined man. It will be seen from the documents that he, despite his Loyalist background, was not above the "bluff" of annexation.

The General Wemyss Jobson, who compliments Attorney-General Wilkins and promises help so lavishly, was an interesting Scottish adventurer in the United States whose military title seems to have been as facile as his offers of assistance. Through courtesy of the Library of Congress I have learned that, as early as 1834, he was an author of a treatise on the anatomy and physiology of teeth; that he published a history of the French Revolution as early as 1841; that, in 1870, he advertised as ready for publication by subscription, twenty-six volumes of history, poetry, and Biblical literature; and had some sixteen volumes of history and exploration in preparation.

From one of his works it is learned that he came to the United States in 1854, and from a metrical version of the "Sermon on the Mount", *etc.*, published in 1870, it is further learned that he spent two years in jail with hard labour for some libellous verses on a grand-nephew of the Duke of Wellington. While in jail he had made his metrical version, and, in his preface, he ascribes his imprisonment and punishment to "the perjury of a renegade Jew, named 'the Right Honorable Benjamin Disraeli' whose contempt for truth is proverbial in the new world not less than in the old". From these excerpts and lists of books one may gather something of the temperament, ability, and versatility of the titular General Jobson. What became of him after 1870 is not known. He does not appear in the *Dictionary of American biography*. A Phila-

delphia directory of 1869 gives a D. Wemyss Jobson as a lawyer residing at 708 Washington Square. In 1857 he had published a book in New York describing himself as "Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, formerly Surgeon-dentist to the royal Family of England, now counsellor in European law, patent, medical and scientific cases, New York". Apparently he added the legal string to his medical and literary bow when he crossed the Atlantic; and, perhaps, his military title was but an expression of Fenian respect for an able and fluent adherent.

Major-General Sir Charles Hastings Doyle succeeded Sir William Fenwick Williams as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, on October 25, 1867. It will be noticed that he signs himself major-general only when referring to General Jobson.

D. C. HARVEY

# I

Government House. Halifax.

9<sup>th</sup> March. 1868

Sir,

I am directed by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a newspaper called *the Bluenose*, and to request that you will, as soon as possible, inform His Excellency, whether any portion of the contents thereof are, in your opinion, of such a treasonable nature as to render the Publisher liable to immediate arrest, with the seizure of his Press, or to Prosecution.

His Excellency is most anxious to take vigorous measures for the suppression of this the first open indication of disaffection which has shewn itself in this loyal Province.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

I have &c. &c.

(Signed) HARRY MOODY

The Attorney General &c &c &c

Attorney General's Office, Halifax. N.S.

March 9<sup>th</sup> 1868

Sir,

Please to inform His Excellency that I have examined the contents of *The Bluenose*, and, though the annexationist Principles expressed are disgusting, they are not of such a nature as, in my opinion, to call for any action on the part of the Government or Attorney-General. The paper is too insignificant for a criminal prosecution, and to attack him in the Courts of Justice would confer on the Editor notoriety—the attainment of which is the only object he can possibly hope to achieve. If left alone he will soon expire under the contempt of every true Nova Scotian.

Captain H. Moody &c &c I have &c. &c (Signed) MARTIN I. WILKINS  
[Endorsed] Halifax. March 1868. Correspondence with the Attorney  
General in re "*The Bluenose*" newspaper

[*The Bluenose* referred to was a small double sheet published at Digby on March 4, 1868, and was expected to appear weekly. The first editorial was as follows.]

#### REPEAL

Why all this clamor for repeal? Have we not already had enough of England's taunts and oppression? Why add to this another refusal? Our situation reminds one of the schoolboy, who when he is once struck, dares you to strike him again.

The remedy lies in our own legislation, but most of all in our own stout hearts and strong arms. The only power that will ever repeal the Stamp Act of '67 is the power that repealed the Stamp Act of '76.

But still we must not be ungrateful! Oh no! Well, instead of asking for repeal, let us ask for our independence. It has been said in the British Parliament that we would be allowed a peaceable separation [*sic*].

But before that is accomplished, let us make our bargain with the Republic. What is there of treason in this? What maiden would leave her home until after she was married?

Let us be prudent. Let us seal our betrothal to Jonathan, and then ask John Bull to let us go. If he refuses, we may make a runaway match.

But by all means let us have no talk of armed rebellion—Let us make an honest bargain, and get the best of it if we can. The Alabama claims will help to pay for the property that Great Britain owns in this Country. Our starving fishermen will have a market for the fish they take, and the bounty when they do not take any. Our Coal will find a ready market at a good price, and with the introduction of American capital our deserted ship yards will ring with the sounds of industry.

#### II

16 Bedford Row Halifax  
30<sup>th</sup> June 1868

H.E.

Col. Francklyn C.B.

My dear Sir,

At one o'clock I received the enclosed note from Mr. McDonald declining to publish or print the Proclamation—I at once made arrangements with Mr. Grant & by four o'clock the Posters will be sent to your Excellency & posted up in town as directed—

I have also received the enclosed cheque on the Bank of Montreal which will require to be endorsed by you before payment.—

Yours vy faithfully

M B DALY

[Endorsed]

Mr. Daly

30th June 1868.

Letter from the Queen's  
Printer declining to  
print Proclamation  
about 1st July.

[Enclosure]

Gazette Office

June 30<sup>th</sup> 1868.

M. B. Daly Esq

Dear Sir—

Since you left the copy of the Proclamation at this office, it has occurred to me, that as the Local Government have declined to recognize the 1<sup>st</sup> of July as a holiday, it might be inconsistent for me as their officer, to print or publish the document in question. I would suggest that it might be done by Mr. Grant of the Colonist Office, former Queen's Printer, and now printer for the several departments under the Dominion Government in this Province.

Yours respectfully

E M McDONALD

### III

The Lieutenant-Governor has had his attention directed to a Speech delivered in the House of Assembly yesterday afternoon by the Attorney-General—

In the absence of any official Report of the Debate, the Lieutenant Governor is obliged in making this communication to the Attorney-General, to refer to the unofficial account given in the Morning and Evening Newspapers—As these Newspapers are widely circulated and as the statements made in them of the occurrences in the House of Assembly will, unless contradicted, be believed in by a large number of persons, the Lieutenant-Governor requests the Attorney General to inform him whether the disloyal sentiments attributed to him in the enclosed extracts were really uttered by him.

(Sd) HASTINGS DOYLE

The Honorable M. Wilkins

Attorney General

Halifax, N.S.

Government House, Halifax  
4<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1868.

[Enclosures]

[The *Halifax reporter*, September 3, 1868.] The Attorney General has been going down rapidly with his constituency, owing to his "brave words" not having been followed by his brave deeds he had promised. To-day he has done his utmost to chime in with the wishes of the annexation part of his constituency, after calling the Confederation all manner of names, he said "I give notice now to England and to Canada, and they will hear my voice—that if before the next Session of this Assembly redress is not given and the constitution restored to the people, the people will no longer submit. You'll hear no more of constitutional and gentle means after that. We'll not be without a revenue. We'll pass a revenue law. We'll send for the Collector of Customs at Halifax and bring him to the Bar of the House and order him to obey our law. This will be done before next session." Blanchard asked who would obey the Revenue law. Wilkins replied, "If these means won't avail we'll appeal to another nation." The Speaker immediately cleared the galleries amid great uproar. This scene occurred near five o'clock.

[*Morning chronicle*, Halifax, September 4, 1868.] He desired to give notice to the Governments of Great Britain and Canada—and they would hear him—that if the constitutional liberties of Nova Scotia were not restored and her grievances redressed before the next session of the Legislature, it would be necessary for us to proceed to redress them ourselves.—A tariff bill would be passed, and the Collectors of Customs instructed to obey it. If Nova Scotia was too weak to perform the task herself, she would appeal to other people to assist her.

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Attorney General's Office  
Halifax N.S. Sep<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>, 1868

The Attorney General informs the Lieut. Governor that he is incapable of entertaining or expressing sentiments of disloyalty and if his Excellency will wait until the official report of the speech of the Attorney General is published—he will find that it is entirely free from disaffection—

The Attorney General is pressing with all his might for a restoration of the constitution of Nova Scotia *with the Queen at its head*, and opposes confederation because he is convinced that it will ultimately lead to annexation with the United States which is above all things dreaded by the Attorney General—

He is therefore actuated by the strongest emotions of loyalty, and no one has a right to torture his expressions used in debate into an evidence that his principles are tainted with disloyalty.

The Atty. Gen. has inculcated the strictest principles of loyalty into all who have come within his political influence, And will continue to do so, and nothing occasions him greater pain than to witness the daily increasing discontent of the people in consequence of the refusal to restore their constitution—

[Endorsed]

Attorney General  
5 September 1868.

R<sup>d</sup>. 5-9-68.

(12.45)

MARTIN I. WILKINS

Atty. Gen.

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Halifax 5<sup>th</sup>. September 1868

My dear Attorney General,

I presume you can have no objection to your loyal sentiments being made public—I therefore <sup>intend</sup> ~~propose~~ to publish the correspondence which has just terminated between us, with a view to rectify the unfavourable impression which will otherwise exist, as to your want of Loyalty, when the paragraphs which have led to this correspondence are read throughout the Province. The imputation which has so unfortunately been cast on yourself has also to some degree attached to the entire Ministry of which you are the recognized leader in the House of Assembly—and therefore on their behalf as well as my own, who am liable indirectly to be compromised by the language of my Ministers, I am glad to be able to shew publicly that you are still actuated by the same loyal sentiments to which you have so often given utterance in a more private manner in my presence.

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The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it due to the Attorney General to make all the Members of his Council acquainted with a Correspondence which has taken place between that Gentleman and himself, which originated in a Report of his Speech in the "Reporter" of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Inst—This report was repeated the following day in the "Morning Chronicle", & contained such disloyal sentiments as in his opinion urgently to require a disavowal from a Member of his Government, more especially from one holding the position of Attorney General, to whom the Lieutenant-Governor has to look to carry out the Law—It has afforded him great pleasure to find that the loyal sentiments which have always characterized

the Attorney-General in his personal communication with the Lieutenant-Governor are still entertained by him.

(Sd) HASTINGS DOYLE

Government House  
5<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>er</sup> 1868

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Attorney General's Office,  
Halifax, 7<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1868

The Attorney General will thank the Lieut Governor to add the subjoined paragraph to his note of the 5<sup>th</sup> int. He deems this necessary to make that paper a perfect synopsis of his political creed, and then the Governor will not only be at liberty, but the Attorney General will thank him, to make the paper as public as possible. The Attorney General would have proposed to publish the correspondence himself had he not feared that such a course might be disagreeable to the Lieut Governor.

MARTIN I WILKINS

Atty Genl

To be added as last clause of note—

"Should it be the will of Providence that Nova Scotia shall be deprived of her old constitution without her consent and against the will of her loyal people, it is the opinion of the Attorney General that the political system of any other civilized country would be preferable to the constitution which has been provided for her by the "Act for the union of Canada Nova Scotia and New Brunswick"—"

[Endorsed]

Attorney General

7<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1868.

Requests Lt Gov<sup>r</sup>. to add a paragraph to his letter and then to publish it.  
Rd. 7-9. 68.

12.30 pm.

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City of Philadelphia

General Wemys Jobson—author of "History of the French Revolution", etc. presents his warmest compliments to Attorney General Wilkins, And has witnessed with admiration the noble attitude he has adopted—

The General will immediately take means for sustaining the independent cause here, and, if need be, will support it with an army of fifteen or twenty thousand men in the course of six weeks—

614 Washington Square

Philadelphia, Penn. Sept 5/68

Attorney General's Office

Halifax, 10<sup>th</sup> Sep. 1868

The Attorney General transmits to the Lieutenant Governor a letter received by him a few minutes since, in order that His Excellency may take such steps in reference to the same as he may think advisable—

(Signed)

MARTIN I. WILKINS

[In red ink at the bottom of the above]

Tell the Atty. General he may inform his correspondent he may "come on" here as soon as he pleases—I am ready for him.

H. DOYLE

M General



## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE PARTITION OF NOVA SCOTIA

(The following letter has been received from Professor Bartlet Brebner, of Columbia University.)

While Miss Marion Gilroy's article, "The partition of Nova Scotia", is still fresh in the memories of readers of the REVIEW it might be well to provide some material which supplements and illuminates the third section of her paper, that dealing with British policy as to the foundation of New Brunswick.

In the course of an examination of the documentary sources for Nova Scotian history between 1758 and 1783, I came across a number of widely scattered papers dealing with the coastal territory west of the St. Croix River boundary of Nova Scotia. Finding that they involved William Knox, I drew them to the attention of Miss Marion Mitchell who was working on his American policy and she was able to supplement them. I shall recapitulate as briefly as possible some of the elements of the story which I believe give additional continuity and weight to Miss Gilroy's essay.

The issues involved were, of course, not new, but had a history running back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Their re-emergence during the American Revolution, however, seems to have occurred first in the mind of John Nutting in 1775 or 1776. He wrote on January 17, 1778, for Lord George Germain at William Knox's request, the earliest memorandum which I found on the project of a new province, saying: "I have had this object in view for more than two years past."<sup>1</sup> His interest was in using Penobscot as a base against the rebels in place of Halifax, with the additional advantages that "by having a post so situated you secure to Nova Scotia at least forty leagues of the Continent as well as four thousand Inhabitants" and all the necessities for a very prosperous industry in lumber and naval stores. He was sent out by Germain and Knox to forward the project, but his vessel was captured by a Newbury privateer and he, wounded, was landed at Corunna, September 28, 1778.<sup>2</sup>

Nothing daunted, he had reached New York by March, 1779, where he discussed the plan with Clinton before going to Halifax.<sup>3</sup> That year he took part in the purposeful military and naval operations by which Penobscot was kept in British hands, and wrote confidently to Knox about the blow to the rebels in cutting off their principal source of wood products and commodities for the West Indies trade. He wanted to use the region from Casco Bay to the Bay of Fundy as a base for reducing the northern colonies and announced his imminent departure for England with maps to report.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Public Archives of Canada, CO5, vol. 155, no. 88.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, no. 146: Nutting to Knox, Sept. 30, 1778.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 156, pp. 131-4: Nutting to Knox, April 5, 1779.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 157, pp. 17-20: Nutting to Knox, Jan. 8, 1780.

Meanwhile the project had become a part of British policy and in 1778 or 1779 the reliable Charles Morris of Halifax prepared an elaborate historical and geographical report in which he drew on his thirty-five years' experience to argue for the rightful annexation to Nova Scotia of the whole coast from Mount Desert to Machias. He would remove the rebellious inhabitants and develop the lumber and fishery resources.<sup>5</sup> The home government had other intentions, however, for Knox had a new and very well-informed expert in Colonel Thomas Goldthwait who, from Walthamstow in May, 1780, at Knox's request amplified with military and naval measures and a complete scheme for a separate colonial government, an earlier report which he had made on the desirability of occupying the tract between Falmouth on Casco Bay and the River St. Croix.<sup>6</sup> He added to his promise of naval stores and fisheries a remarkably detailed report on the possibilities for agriculture both along the coast and in the interior and on the ports and harbours. The region should be seized in order to distress Boston for lack of fuel, masts, spars, lumber, and salt and to capture the West Indies trade. Loyalists could people it and it would speedily attract other settlers. On August 4, 1780, he sent Knox an estimate of the annual revenue to be expected from New Ireland, at £7500 "paid in deals from 2 to 4 inches thick suitable for the british market".<sup>7</sup>

The Cabinet was busy with the proposal during the summer and on August 10 and 11 it was adopted and the name New Ireland formally approved. The new colony was to be created in the spring of 1781. Even an annual parliamentary estimate of £4950 was decided upon and a hypothetical import and export schedule was drawn up. Two main objectives were destruction of an important rebel ship-building industry and establishment of overland contact with Quebec. The government was to be authoritarian and buttressed by the established church.<sup>8</sup> Goldthwait redrafted his report to Knox,<sup>9</sup> but the real fillip to the plans was the arrival in England of Dr. John Calef of Penobscot who, after consultation with Carleton in New York, had brought a petition for British civil government from the inhabitants.<sup>10</sup>

As Miss Gilroy has pointed out, the scheme temporarily dropped out of sight after 1780. An unsigned memorandum of 1782 in the *Shelburne*

<sup>5</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Nova Scotia state papers, A series*, vol. 99, pp. 226 ff.: Remarks by Charles Morris, undated.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 100, pp. 69-104. He was described as late secretary at war for the Province of Massachusetts Bay and commander of Fort Pownall, Penobscot (*Shelburne MSS.* (transcripts in Public Archives of Canada), vol. 66, ff. 461 and 489). Shelburne's active interest is revealed (*ibid.*, ff. 389-530).

<sup>7</sup>CO5, vol. 157, pp. 369-74.

<sup>8</sup>*Shelburne MSS.*, vol. 66, ff. 511-28.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, ff. 489-506.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, ff. 425-8. Calef described himself as "Agent for the Inhabitants of the territory of Penobscot", and gave his history as follows: ship's surgeon at Louisbourg, 1745; army surgeon thereafter and surgeon general for the provincials in the Seven Years' War; Massachusetts assemblyman 1768 and Loyalist; at Penobscot 1772-9, when he went to Halifax to report to Col. Francis McLean, the commander there. McLean made him chief civil official at Penobscot, Aug. 14, 1779. He left for England with his petition, May 9, 1780, and referred to McLean and his officers, Goldthwait and Gage as his sponsors.

MSS.<sup>11</sup> says "some legal difficulties were started which have prevented the Measure from being carried into Execution". Doubtless the old bones of the Duke of York's patent were stirred to life by interested parties. The one further element in the sequence before Miss Gilroy takes up the story again in 1783 bears a relation to the first section of her paper, for on June 20, 1782, the ambitious and calculating chief justice of Nova Scotia, Bryan Finucane, drafted a memorandum on the subject which he sent to Shelburne.<sup>12</sup> He had somehow got hold of Charles Morris's report, whose contents he put forward as his own, Morris having died in November, 1781. Thus Nova Scotia kept alive the claims over the Maine coast which had a continuous, if chequered, history back to the days of Sir William Alexander and the first Nova Scotia.

I hope that these particulars may some day be elaborated by the future historian of New Brunswick or of William Knox, for it seems to remain a question whether this transformation of Nutting's strategic plan into the creation of New Brunswick was merely a natural development stimulated by the arrival of the Loyalists or whether, as Miss Gilroy suggests, William Knox based his plans upon the principle of *divide et impera* which Lord Durham thought he detected in British North America.

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#### A QUESTION OF IDENTITY

(The following letter has been received from Mr. J. N. Wallace of Calgary, Alberta.)

In the issue of September last there is a review by Mr. A. S. Morton of the Champlain Society's reprint of John McLean's book edited by Mr. W. S. Wallace. On page 329, Mr. Morton takes exception to the editor's identification of a certain Mr. McKenzie as being chief factor Donald McKenzie, and puts forward the view that the person must have been Hector McKenzie.

The balance of evidence from general considerations of contemporary events in the fur-trade may very well be in favour of the editor's identification. McLean, for one thing in this balance, brackets the two passengers who joined him at the Sault, on his westward journey, as "Messrs Bethune and McKenzie". Bethune was then a chief factor of twelve years' standing, with thirty years' service in the western fur-trade, while Hector McKenzie was a mere clerk of one year's standing. It is not probable that even McLean, who was noted for his want of respect towards his superiors, would thus have bracketed two men of such different rank.

Mr. Morton bases his objection to the editor's identification on an alibi for Donald who, he claims, was present at the council at Fort Garry, notwithstanding the fact that Donald's name does not occur in the minutes, Mr. Morton claiming that the absence of the name is due to error. Such an assumption of error in the minutes is rather a dangerous

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, ff. 571-82.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, ff. 413-24.

basis to work on, and apparently he has overlooked the fact that, while Donald's name does not occur for the meeting held June 1-5, 1833, it does occur when "The Council sat again on 8th June". It is mainly on these two peculiar facts that I base a suggestion that McLean's passenger was Donald McKenzie, then governor of Assiniboia.

The identification derives interest from its possible connection with the history of the quarrel between the governor of Assiniboia and the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, a quarrel which resulted in the former's retirement, not only from his office as governor but from the entire service of the company. The identification of the passenger as Donald depends on whether there is any evidence that he was at Fort Garry at the date of the first council or for some little time previously. So far as I know there is no such evidence. Governor Simpson had himself wintered at Fort Garry (1832-3), and would have been available in case Donald had been temporarily absent.

On the basis of such absence my interpretation would be as follows. McLean left the Sault on May 16, 1833, but does not again refer in any way to the two passengers. No doubt this might be only an example of his attitude to chief factors in general, and in itself might have no bearing on their presence or absence, but when he reaches Fort Alexander he complains that the clerk in charge "seeing what small fry he had to deal with", treated the party superciliously. Clearly Bethune had by then left the party, and if so, why not also McKenzie, although McLean makes no mention of either having left?

Captain Back, the British explorer, who left the Sault, going west, four days in advance of McLean's slower brigade, states that on May 26, when he was passing Savannah Portage, west of Fort William, he was overtaken by the express, and by it sent on a letter in advance to Governor Simpson, which letter Simpson states he received at Fort Garry on June 6.<sup>1</sup> This express could readily have passed the Sault a day or so after McLean had left that post, and my suggestion is that Donald McKenzie transferred from McLean's brigade to this express, thus reaching Fort Garry between the two council meetings. Arriving there, he found he had been transferred to Fort William by the first council. This, being a degradation, must have been due to some friction of an earlier date between Donald and Governor Simpson. Indignant at such a transfer, especially when made in his absence, a storm broke out which was calmed superficially by holding the peculiar second meeting, at which Donald was granted a year's leave on the ground of ill health. Both parties to the quarrel recognized that such leave meant retirement, which was the actual outcome, as Donald never returned.

As regards the letter written by Simpson in London (in the following September) to his superior, on which letter Mr. Morton bases his idea that Donald was present at the earlier council, Simpson would naturally wish to smooth over the trouble by a plausible grouping of the two meetings as though they formed but one, at which he says he was "assisted by Cameron, Christie, MacMillan and McKenzie". It seems

<sup>1</sup>See Sir George Back, *Narrative of the Arctic land expedition to Great Fish River and along the shores of the Arctic Ocean in the years 1833, 1834 and 1835* (London and Philadelphia, 1836), 39 and 45.

incredible that Donald would, if he had been present at the earlier meeting, have tamely submitted to such a transfer. It would have been withdrawn by Simpson, and the year's leave have been substituted, with no need for a second meeting. This second meeting deals only with arrangements for Fort Garry, to meet, as I surmise, the suddenly altered conditions, with merely an additional injunction that Captain Back, whose letter had just been received, should be assisted.

Simpson had, in earlier years held a high opinion of Donald McKenzie, describing him as "cool, decisive, reflecting and determined, and the most enlightened of the chief factors". Ten years after McKenzie had left Fort Garry, his kinsman, chief factor Roderick McKenzie of Ile à la Crosse writes, in 1843, to his namesake, the builder of Old Fort Chipewyan, stating that Donald had become an American citizen and would not write to anyone "in this country", and that he might then have been a man of fortune if he had not quarrelled with Governor Simpson who had placed him in the first situation in the country as governor of Assiniboia—a somewhat strange remark in a letter written to Donald's brother, who must have known as much as the writer.

A word might be added in regard to Back's statement that a letter sent by him from London in the previous December had passed the Sault only eleven days ahead of himself, and that he forwarded a letter by express from Savannah on May 26, while Simpson states that on June 6 he received simultaneously at Fort Garry Back's letter from London and his letter dated "at Gros Cap, lake Superior, May 12". At first glance this might be taken to indicate two expresses and that Back had written two letters on his journey. Both such ideas are confuted when we note that one express only brought both the earliest (London) letter and the latest (Savannah) letter. Evidently Back had written his letter at Gros Cap on May 12 in anticipation that an express might pass, and this opportunity did not occur until Savannah was reached.<sup>2</sup> The same express took Back's Lake Superior letter from himself at Savannah, and then picked up his London letter somewhere between that portage and Fort Garry. As regards the speed at which an express travelled, Governor Simpson more than once made the whole journey from Montreal to Fort Garry within thirty-two days.

<sup>2</sup>See Back's *Narrative*, 36, 40, 45.

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### BY-PRODUCTS FROM BRITISH AND AMERICAN BOOKS ON THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

THE multiplication of standard books on the history of Britain and the United States is coming to have almost as great a bearing upon certain aspects of Canadian history as monographs dealing more directly with that field. Problems relating, for instance, to political origins and contexts have been materially advanced by a number of excellent studies in recent years. Of the four listed below, three have already found a secure place in the field of British and American history, and the same may be predicted, within narrower limits perhaps, for Mrs. Manning's new book on *British colonial government after the American Revolution*. The significance of these studies for Canadian history, though a by-product of their original purpose, is in that respect not unlike much of Canadian history itself—a by-product of larger issues between the parent stock of the English-speaking world and its first progeny in America. Without sharing the history of both branches of the family, Canadian history can scarcely fail to be foreshortened and distorted. For political as for economic history and geography, sound scholarship, if nothing else, can be relied upon to obliterate much of our traditional provincialism.

For many years Canadian history was almost hermetically sealed against external influences. Based upon the paternalism of New France, the Quebec Act might have been devised for another hemisphere. With the coming of the Loyalists (whence or why was immaterial since we were not concerned with their origin and temper in the American compound) the beginnings of representative institutions in the Canadas after 1791 passed for almost a new creation. Contacts with the United States were drawn in to explain traditional antipathies in Canada, but the influences of physiography, to say nothing of political opinion from across the border, were studiously ignored.

All this has long since been reversed. The true genealogy of Canadian institutions is to be sought not in New France, but in New England and the "royal provinces" of the first American empire; and the growth of the independent republic which was built upon its ruins is never far

<sup>1</sup>*Royal Government in America*. By LEONARD WOODS LABAREE. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xii, 491. (\$4.50)

*British Colonial Government after the American Revolution, 1782-1820*. By HELEN TAFT MANNING. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1933. Pp. xii, 568. (\$4.00)

*England in the Age of the American Revolution*. By L. B. NAMIER. London: Macmillan and Company. 1930. Pp. viii, 518. (\$7.50)

*The American Revolution and the British Empire*. By R. COUPLAND. (The Watson Lectures for 1928, University of London.) London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. 331. (12s. 6d.)

removed from our own. These four books, though contrasts in content and treatment, will all find a place in that development.

For the royal province, as established in Nova Scotia and originally contemplated for Quebec, Greene's *Royal governor* and the pages of Osgood, Dickerson, and Basye have long been fairly satisfactory manuals. *Royal government in America* has now outlined in very readable form the technical equipment and functions of royal government. The significance, for instance, of the Nova Scotian precedent in 1758 in establishing "the right of a royal province to an elective assembly" has a direct bearing upon the instruments drafted by many of the same men for the government of Quebec in 1763; and Pownall's forecast of "a whole legislative power"—a "full, free, independent, unrestricted power and legislative will . . . under the king's commission"—for the royal province is contrasted with Durham's insight in transferring the emphasis from legislative to executive autonomy and finding in what we in Canada call responsible government the "basis of the modern British Commonwealth of Nations". The chapters on finance, justice, the governor's salary, and the royal instructions throw many interesting sidelights upon the Canadian provinces. May not "the freshness and vigor of Carleton's instructions" after the Quebec Act (p. 446) have been due to the fact that he knew exactly what he wanted and virtually dictated them himself? There is a very useful bibliographical note (twenty closely packed pages) and an excellent index.

The new book on *British colonial government after the American Revolution, 1782-1820*, by Mrs. Manning, Dean of Bryn Mawr, supplies (part I) a fairly satisfactory sequel to Labaree. Even the chapters in part II ("The new empire"), including a brief survey of Canadian constitutional problems (pp. 301-39), relate chiefly to problems of colonial administration in Great Britain. It must be said at the outset that the boundaries fixed for the study—"the years between Yorktown and the end of the Napoleonic Era"—have little significance for the student of British colonial policy as distinct from mere administration. The *terminus a quo* is obvious but the *terminus ad quem*, as the author concedes, "requires justification". The study concludes almost within sight of the Huskisson reforms of the early twenties. Even for the static period under review Somerset's policy with the Dutch in South Africa might have supplied an illuminating commentary upon Bathurst's policy for French Canada. Without this sense of direction British colonial administration in detail is apt to lose itself in a period of "much glory without and utter darkness within".

The aftermath of the American Revolution, in Dr. Manning's estimation, was utterly barren in constructive policy for the empire that remained. "The ministers governed the colonies with a minimum of explanation or justification . . . They continued to pen despatches which might have been written between 1715 and 1750." "Seldom has an age been so barren of constructive political measures." Even the "activities of the anti-slavery group were almost wholly harmful" since they had no specific to offer but the "control of every detail of colonial government from London". The most that could be said was that population, industry, and maritime supremacy carried forward the "imperial tradition".



Conventional landmarks of the Napoleonic era, however, may be quite misleading for colonial history. At its best, as Professor Coupland demonstrates, British policy showed at least a manly resolve to avoid palpable blunders like colonial taxation and commercial exploitation. At its worst it may have drawn lessons, much more emphatic than discerning, from the American Revolution, though that tragedy, as a whole, still remained incomprehensible. Even for the period of the doldrums between the American Revolution and the French, the paralysis of faith does not prove the absence of "policy". The division of Nova Scotia, for instance, into fragments, three of which have never been reunited, is traceable to remoter origins than the local preferences of New Brunswick Loyalists (p. 35). A very emphatic policy is traceable to William Knox and Germain as early as 1778 and is elaborated in detail by Knox himself before the "spring fleet of '83" sailed from Sandy Hook. The disintegration of representative institutions, the concentration of the executive under the "direction and control of a Governor-General", the place of an endowed church and a council reinforced if possible by the hereditary principle, are all evidences of something more than "salutary neglect". As late as 1797 in a letter to Pitt himself Knox rejoiced that "every step taken in pursuance" of his memorandum for Lord North in 1783 "has been judged fit to be followed up by your administration".

A vastly different sort of book is *England in the age of the American Revolution*. Like the same author's brilliant volumes on *The structure of politics at the accession of George III*, it combines the most meticulous scholarship with a literary art, or rather artlessness, rarely found in that context. The main theme of the book—an analysis of the contest between Bute and Newcastle and particularly of the epochal parliament of 1761—fills in the background of the most resplendent foreign war and the most disastrous civil war in British history. Mr. Namier has the touch of a surgeon. These studies reduce many of the mock heroics and anachronisms of conventional history to a medley of truly "ridiculous beginnings". The pages on Bute and Newcastle are studies in "mental pathology"; and the "choice of the new Parliament" of 1761—Newcastle's cynical phrase and Newcastle's work also, as Mr. Namier conclusively proves—is so "tragical-comical-historical" a farce that Polonius himself could scarcely find a more appropriate name for it. Franklin's scathing comment on the ensuing elections of 1768 is easily understood: "the whole venal nation is now at market, will be sold for about two millions and might be bought . . . by the very devil himself."

The range of ability in the House of 1761, nevertheless, is imposing. The analysis of personnel and temper is completed with encyclopaedic detail. Out of 533 members whose ages are traceable, 233 were under forty and 175 over sixty years of age (p. 249). One hundred and nineteen were peers (Irish) or sons of peers. There were 59 army officers, 21 naval officers, and 50 merchants, of whom all but 13 were government contractors. Well over 250 had places or pensions from the government. The chapter on "The House of Commons and America" is particularly illuminating. Rodney, Saunders, Cornwallis, Monckton, and Charles Townshend; Burke (after a by-election in 1765), Barré and Thomas



Pownall; Sir William Baker, Simon Fraser, William Howe, James Oswald, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, were all members of this parliament of 1761. The closing chapter traces the contest between Bute and Newcastle to its *dénouement* and promises a new book, which will be as welcome as this one, on "The rise of party".

For Canadian history the section on the imperial problem (40 ff.) may be open to most criticism. It is true that the crown, which has now a cohesive function, was then "an active factor in British politics"; and this, with the known loyalty of George III to the existing order, was "bound to carry the supremacy of the British Parliament into the Colonies". But was it this which "rendered a conflict inevitable" (p. 42)? What precipitated conflict, surely, was not parliamentary supremacy but the way in which it was used. Parliamentary supremacy has made no "conflict inevitable" in the second empire. In truth, it has proved almost indispensable. It had to be relied upon to dispose successively of the Quebec Act, the Constitutional Act, and the Union Act; and without it the federation of Canada would have been a very sorry affair. It remains almost the last vestigial anomaly which still survives the Statute of Westminster, for Canada has deliberately reserved it as the only method of amending the British North America Acts. "Inevitable conflicts" are frequently traceable to faulty human relations which are anything but inevitable. In that sense it is hard to believe that either Burke's instinctive conservatism or his views on trade (p. 45) would have impaired the "unsuspecting confidence" between men of goodwill, which alone, in his view and Chatham's, could have "saved the First British Empire". The second empire and the commonwealth have been fortunate not merely in better measures but in better men.

Professor Coupland's brilliant lectures on *The American Revolution and the British Empire* paint a brighter picture, though light and shade are seldom attainable by the technique of the platform. The story begins at the nadir of the old empire. In 1780 nearly 60 British prizes were towed into Cadiz, and 14 more were taken off Newfoundland. The king, contemplating with stolid dignity the "downfall of this once respectable Empire", hoped "not long [to] survive" its ruin. Professor Coupland's theme is the rise from "defeat and disgrace" to a "new birth of freedom".

For Britain herself this rejuvenation was prodigious. "The fact that the collapse of George III's system of government was due to the 'disgraces and reverses' of the American War is one of the most certain facts in history" (p. 32).<sup>2</sup> Pitt's appeal for a "manly and determined courage" was the "voice of a young post-war England". In a sense even Australia was saved by the American Revolution, for did not the cessation of penal settlement in America lead to the first convict settlement at Botany Bay, forestalling by a narrow margin of six days the arrival of La Pérouse and a French fleet?

Two admirable chapters on the Irish Revolution—a phrase which

<sup>2</sup>It is interesting to compare this view with Mr. Namier's dictum (p. 45) that the "disruption of the First British Empire was . . . the greatest setback for British democracy".

Professor Coupland applies not to the Rebellion of '98 but to "Grattan's Parliament" of 1782—restore that unhappy story to its true context in colonial rather than British history. The Augmentation Act of 1769 by which 3,000 men were to be added to the Irish standing army for the "defence of his Majesty's garrisons and plantations abroad" was the "Irish edition of the *Stamp Act*". Grattan's boast, "I am now to address a free people", hollow and rhetorical though it proved to be, marked the legislative autonomy of Ireland; but the hands were the hands of Esau, for the American Revolution in making the Irish Revolution possible had also made it "sterile and short-lived". Over the ensuing story of Irish rebellion and Union, with its curious parallel to rebellion and Union in the Canadas, Professor Coupland draws the curtain. In "The attack on mercantilism" and "The new imperialism", there are discerning reflections on the Huskisson reforms and on India. The closing chapters on the "Foundations of Canada" and the "Great experiment" (Elgin's phrase?) forecast the happier solution which was "due as much to the foresight, patience, and practical sense of overseas statesmen [p. 271] as to any similar virtues in the mother-country".

These admirable lectures retain much of the charm as well as the form of Professor Coupland's public address, and it would be unfair to review them on the basis of pure scholarship. Two pronounced features of the theme would probably invite Canadian criticism. The divorce of the Quebec Act (p. 242) from the American Revolution ("its original purpose was merely security and not aggression. Its policy was the policy of Murray") is substantially the theme of the author's well-known volume on *The Quebec Act*. That the project of using French Canadians against New England was merely an afterthought is hard to reconcile with Carleton's own statements to the contrary, with his known project as early as 1767 for separating "the Northern from the Southern Colonies", and with the instructions which followed him to Canada with uncanny speed for the plan "long since Recommended" (Carleton's own phrase). He was to raise a "Body of 3000 Canadians" to be increased, three weeks later, to 6,000. With this hypothetical army he was to effect a junction with Howe and to take over "the full appointments of Commander-in-Chief" in America. This does not look like an afterthought; and indeed Germain's scathing recall of Legge, Gage, and Carleton at one fell swoop seems to imply the reversal of a deeper policy. But this is a theme upon which British and Canadian scholarship, with characteristic goodwill and good sense, may agree to differ.

It is not so easy to subscribe to the thesis that the "transformation of the British Empire"—the policy which "still survives"—was effected by the "same principles which they established" upon the morrow of the American Revolution. The policy of 1791 in Canada, adds Professor Coupland, though "old-fashioned was not reactionary" (pp. 50, 285). One looks in vain in the nebulous phrases about "assimilation" for any principle which could have saved, or did save, the second empire. The attempt to buttress it by an established church, as Chief Justice Halliburton once remarked, created "ten enemies for one friend". Fortunately Pitt's project for an hereditary aristocracy was forestalled by Fox's

wit<sup>3</sup> and Dorchester's rugged commonsense. It was Fox himself, the first prophet of "assimilation", in 1774 (p. 273), who pronounced the constitution of 1791 "an attempt to undermine and contradict the professed purpose of the bill: the introduction of a popular government in Canada"; and it is doubtful if a single one of the thirteen provinces before the Revolution would not have agreed with him. The disintegration of popular institutions in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton is now known to have been dictated not by local expediency but by post-revolutionary imperial policy. In Ireland where that policy is first applied there is no suggestion, from first to last, of the principles which are now seen to have "saved the second Empire". Grattan himself with all his rhetoric was as completely at fault as the rest. He who had "sate by the cradle" of what he thought to be a "free people", lived to "follow the hearse". In America, it is true, there were happier auspices. A tried Loyalist personnel in a new environment gave the old empire a second trial; but not until the cycle had reached the brink of a second disaster did reformers on both sides of the Atlantic lay the enduring foundations of the commonwealth.

CHESTER MARTIN

<sup>34</sup>The sort of titles meant to be given were not named in the bill; he presumed the reason was, they could not be named without creating laughter" (*Parliamentary register*, XLVI, 391).

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Recovery by Control: A Diagnosis and Analysis of the Relations between Business and Government in Canada.* By FRANCIS HANKIN and T. W. L. MACDERMOT. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1933. Pp. ix, 360. (\$2.00)

*The Liberal Way: A Record of Opinion on Canadian Problems as expressed at the First Liberal Summer Conference, Port Hope, September, 1933.* Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. Pp. x, 294. (\$1.00)

*Canadian Problems as Seen by Twenty Outstanding Men of Canada.* (A Collection of Papers read at the First Annual Liberal-Conservative Summer School held at Newmarket, Ontario.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. 320. (\$2.00)

THESE three books mark the end of an epoch in Canada. They prove that the day is passing when political parties can get into office and run the country merely because they are political parties. The two volumes reporting the proceedings of the summer schools of the Conservative and Liberal parties, the first they have held, show that the old parties themselves recognize that they must make more general use of the results of scientific enquiry, no matter by whom made, and appeal not only for votes but for the intellectual co-operation of the more forward-thinking and intelligent among the electorate. All three books deal principally with the effort to relate economic activity to government, the central problem of our time. Inevitably, the contributors can be criticized for leaving things out, for going too far here, for not going far enough there, but they all try to tell and face the facts. Sometimes they suggest solutions, usually some means by which the good in the capitalistic system may be preserved by getting rid of the more obviously bad features.

The authors of *Recovery by control*, respectively a business man and a professor of Montreal (now secretary of the League of Nations Society) also contribute to *The Liberal way*. A large part of their book contains compact descriptions of the economic organization of Canada. In separate chapters they briefly survey such problems as transportation, communications, light and power, liquor, commerce, agriculture, etc. The result is an invaluable collection in readable form of well-digested information, hitherto inaccessible to the general reader. Three short chapters of comments and conclusions are added. The authors conclude that economic activities in Canada are already socialized (in a sense) and organized to a surprising degree, and that the existing organizations can be used, under government control, to regulate the economic life of the country. This recovery by self-control with some planning by a non-political economic council, the intelligent use of a tariff board and an excess profits tax would, in their opinion, free business from the disastrous consequences of unbridled competition, relate prices to costs, equalize production and consuming power, enable reasonable profits to be earned and yet safeguard the interests of labour and the community at large, all with the minimum of governmental interference. There is

tentatively suggested a way to end industrial and financial anarchy by the use of existing Canadian organizations and by modifying the existing order without going to the extremes that almost every other country has adopted. The proposal bears some resemblance to the "New Deal", but to the reviewer's knowledge, the ideas in *Recovery by control* were worked out by the present authors long before the presidential election of 1932.

*The Liberal Way* contains addresses and summaries of round-table discussions at the first Liberal Summer Conference held at Port Hope in September, 1933. This conference, and indeed much of the political activity in the country, results indirectly from the emergence of the C.C.F. which began a year ago to capture many of the young people in the country by asking them to treat serious problems seriously. Over 300 people of all shades of political opinion and from all parts of Canada, attended. Sir Herbert Samuel, Professor T. E. Gregory, Professor Raymond Moley, and other distinguished visitors were present and contributed to the discussions. The intense interest taken in the discussions may be gathered from the short and very uneven summaries which form part of this volume. The addresses, which occupy most of the volume, are liberal in tone, the liberalism, say, of Sir Arthur Salter, which a Socialist would regard as reactionary but the average Tory or business man in Canada would consider dangerously radical.

The Conservative summer school was attended by about a hundred young Conservatives, mostly from Ontario. Their book, *Canadian problems*, begins with a *verbatim* report of the speech by Mr. Bennett, in the course of which he said: "The whole structure of our national life must be built upon the thought that everything that is good we seize upon and everything that is bad must be rejected." Then come some nineteen formal addresses, the titles of which read a little like an advanced course in civics, but several of them are as good as anything in *The Liberal way*. The book closes significantly with the full text of section 98 of the criminal code.

Space will not permit reference in detail to the contents of the two books, which touch many of the same problems as *Recovery by control*. The Liberal book has nothing on public administration and the racial question in Canada, which the Conservative book has; but the Conservative has little or nothing on banking, control of companies, electoral reform, trade and tariffs, the N.R.A., or plans for lifting the burden of debt, and hardly a word showing any recognition of the fact that we live in an interdependent world. Apart from party speeches, of which there were two or three on each side, there is very little in essence to distinguish one book from the other and almost any address might be transposed without seeming out of place. When they went outside their parties for brains, both parties got the best men they could, including some sixteen of the leading university teachers in the country, mostly young men, frequently sympathizers of the C.C.F.

Every contributor, even the prime minister and even the leader of the opposition, expressly or by implication, urged that the pre-depression order of capitalism, with the old incentives of individual initiative and the old freedom of exploitation must go forever. Many also advocated

drastic reform if anything like the existing order, even the good in it, was to be preserved. Perhaps a composite platform of opinion in the three books, may be expressed somewhat as follows: increased centralization of government in Canada with a New Deal of constitutional powers; public and private economy; sound money; economic planning, largely by the use of tariff and taxation; improvement in public administration; elimination of wasteful competition and control of productive capacity by industry itself under government control; co-operative marketing; improved methods of appointing commissions, so as to eliminate partisan influence; relief works and less wasteful unemployment relief under the federal government; a scheme of unemployment insurance; additional social legislation.

Is it enough? More books will be written and words uttered to answer that question, but they will be better books by reason of the spadework in these three. They will certainly influence thought and policy.

BROOKE CLAXTON

*The Great Age of Discovery.* Edited by A. P. NEWTON. London: University of London Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 230. (15s.)

THIS volume is another monument to the worth-while work of popularization which has been done for years past by public lectures at the University of London. It contains eight essays concerning the period (roughly 1475-1575) when European curiosity about the rest of the world found vent in voyages of discovery. In each case a specialist has recast in simple form the findings and controversies of historical scholarship and accompanied his account by references to the more important of the authorities upon which he has based his views. No doubt the controversies among specialists will continue—the notable one concerning the voyages of the Cabots involves three of the contributions to this volume—but the non-specialist will be grateful to have acceptable histories clearly stated with due acknowledgment of difficulties.

In many ways the most distinguished essay (surely considerably altered from its lecture form) is that by Antonio Pastor on Spanish civilization of the day. It is both subtle and eloquent and it throws light on Spanish characteristics and motives in a way which it is to be regretted Edgar Prestage's account of the Portuguese does not imitate, apparently for reasons of space. The latter is a straight-forward story of the Portuguese way to the Indies. From this lecture and from Dr. Biggar's, the question arises whether we are ever to get a circumstantial account of the Portuguese voyages in the North Atlantic. Did the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 end all possibility of extensive historical re-creation of these enterprises?

The editor performs a real service to ordinary students of history by cutting a clear path through the clouds of myth and controversy surrounding Columbus. Professor Newton is at his best, particularly in the first of his two lectures, and takes his readers back to the best-corroborated and, therefore, most persuasive theses of the discoverer's life and work and away from the recent hypotheses which have little more than novelty to commend them. Dr. Biggar recapitulates the outlines of the work of

the Cabots, Cartier, and Champlain with which he has already made us familiar. H. J. Wood recounts the efforts to find a western passage, with appropriately extensive quotations from Peter Martyr. J. A. Williamson recalls the often forgotten realities of motive and intention in Magellan's and del Cano's first circumnavigation of the globe. E. G. R. Taylor manages surprisingly successfully to draw together the odd, discontinuous records of European speculation over, and activity in, the northern seas, dating back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Unfortunately space did not permit an account of the outburst of daring exploration there between 1560 and 1635. The book is attractively printed and contains 31 plates, chiefly of contemporary maps.

BARTLET BREBNER

*The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806.* By JOHN BARTLET BREBNER. London: A. and C. Black, Ltd. 1933. Pp. xv, 502.

THIS is a volume dear to the heart of the present reviewer. For the first time exploration is linked to the economic expansion of the continent. It supersedes immediately all previous volumes on the history of the exploration of North America and provides a basis of approach with which future volumes must begin. The author has planned his study in relation to the continent as a whole with valuable results. For example, the description of the kingdoms of the Saguenay given by Cartier follows directly after the introductory chapters on Mexico and the empires of Central America. He paints quickly over a wide canvas and is able to bring out the striking features of exploration and at the same time his broad historical background enables him to sustain a European approach. Minute details are included on political, religious, and cultural aspects which on the whole strengthen the book, but at times appear superfluous.

It may be argued that the subject is too large for a single volume. The restriction of the period to 1806, the omission of a geographical chapter providing a background, limited bibliographical references, and occasional details which raise questions in the mind of the reader, may be cited in support of such an argument. It is difficult to agree with the statement that access to Lake Ontario by the upper St. Lawrence was "easily and casually" made (p. 243). One will question even the mild strictures on the Hudson's Bay Company's inactivity (p. 382). Lahontan has not been given adequate credit. The handicaps are partly overcome by valuable maps (map 4 is apparently misplaced) and an index.

The lines of advance in the study of exploration become obvious. They include an intensive cultural study of the North American Indians and this applies to the fur-trade as well as to exploration. The author rightly emphasizes the position of Indian middlemen in the whole range of exploration. The weaknesses in our present knowledge of economic history are again apparent. Various questions must be answered. Did the rise in prices in Europe, following the importation of treasure from Central America, provide a stimulus to trade with Spain which led to the control of the Avalon peninsula of Newfoundland by England and the forcing of French fishermen to distant dry fishing areas such as Gaspé, and in turn to their participation in the fur-trade? Was the competition



of the Iroquois and the New York route a basic factor in forcing Radisson and Groseilliers from the St. Lawrence route to Hudson Bay and was it possible to control both routes, Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence? These are among the problems involved in the interrelations of economic development with exploration. This volume provides a base from which an attack on such problems may be made.

H. A. INNIS

*Toronto during the French Régime: A History of the Toronto Region from Brûlé to Simcoe, 1615-1793.* By PERCY J. ROBINSON. Illustrated by C. W. JEFFERYS. (The Canadian Historical Studies edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. xx, 254. (\$8.00)

BASED on a careful, scientific perusal of the old records and books of travel, as on a thorough study of valuable new material which Mr. Robinson has discovered, this book is well documented and liberally provided with excellent maps, some of which are very rare. It is exceedingly attractive so far as external appearance is generally concerned, this fact being due in no small degree to Mr. Jefferys's charming sketches.

Hitherto there has been a pall of darkness hanging over Toronto from 1615 to 1792-3, only Brûlé, Fort Rouillé, and the Toronto Purchase of 1787 being dimly and more or less uncertainly discernible, whilst the twenty-eight years preceding and the six following 1787 had been treated as pretty much a blank. Now, thanks to Mr. Robinson, we can be sure (1) that the route taken by Brûlé in 1615, when he first beheld Lake Ontario, was the great highway travelled by the Indians in their journeyings from the original Toronto, on the Georgian Bay, to the later one on Lake Ontario; (2) that in the third and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century this route became very much the channel by which furs from far and near reached the lake and the outside world in general; (3) that from that time forward the trade in them was carried on by white men practically without a break; (4) that from 1720 onwards four successive forts at least, not merely one, were erected by the French near the mouth of the Humber or on the site in the Exhibition grounds, now marked by a boulder with a faulty inscription; (5) that, despite the demolition of the fort in 1759 as a military precaution, trading was still prosecuted between that year and 1793, when St. Jean Baptiste Rousseau was already established at the mouth of the river, then popularly called after him St. John's Creek; (6) that, adjacent to the river and to Toronto Bay, Lord Dorchester planned in 1788 to found a town a mile square, surrounded by smallish farm lots; (7) that, near its site, he promised to grant land to the Marquis de Rocheblave, the alleged rediscoverer of the carrying place, and to several of his retainers; (8) that Colonel Simcoe, perceiving at once the value of the carrying place to commerce and to military organization, took steps, even before traversing it in person, to have the construction of Yonge Street begun and settlement upon it inaugurated; and (9) that this Toronto carrying place, whose course has been identified fully by Mr. Robinson, has been the making of the city throughout its history.

Among the earliest Frenchmen who found it to their advantage to



use the carrying place were, on the other hand, historic personages such as La Salle and Du Lhut. Of them and their proceedings, as of the men who built or who commanded the forts, together with the difficulties they had to encounter, interesting details are given. An appendix discusses fully, but without dogmatism, the origin, meaning, and distribution of the name Toronto, Mr. Robinson himself leaning evidently, and with a decidedly fair show of reason, toward "crossing", "passage", "strait", "portage", or "carrying place", which the Toronto trail was—and, with modern developments, still is.

In the face of so much that is praiseworthy and admirable it may be ungracious even to seem to find fault. Yet the hope may be expressed that, by the time the second edition is being brought out, Mr. Robinson may have reconsidered and corrected one or two incidental statements for which there appears to be no warrant. It is not generally regarded as true that Sir William Johnson committed suicide; and the thing "restored" to the French by the Quebec Act was the right of their clergy to collect tithes, which had been in abeyance since the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, not, as stated in parenthesis on page 154, "Their language and religion". As to the allegation that Sir William had tried to control the fur-trade in favour of the Albany merchants, the Gage correspondence recently published (New Haven, 1931, 1933) seems to justify the belief that not they but the Indians were the chief objects of his solicitude.

A. H. YOUNG

*Documents relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia with Prefatory Documents, 1675-1758.* Selected by ADAM SHORTT, completed with an introduction by V. K. JOHNSTON, and revised and edited by GUSTAVE LANCTOT. Ottawa: King's printer. 1933. Pp. xlix, 495.

THIS volume will be welcomed, as the others in the same series have already been, by all students of Canadian history. The work of preparing this volume was begun by Adam Shortt and after his death carried on by Mr. V. K. Johnston, being finally seen through the press by Mr. Gustave Lanctot.

It is impossible to give any brief description of the contents of the volume, other than that given in the title itself. They exhibit the early settlers of Nova Scotia in most phases of "the ordinary business of life" and will undoubtedly become one of the standard references for students of that place and period on all matters touching economic activity, that is to say on almost everything. An economist may perhaps be pardoned, however, for singling out for special mention a few things bearing on topics which economists have taken a prominent part in discussing. The advantage of colonies to the mother country is one such topic, and it is not difficult to gather from these pages some idea of the reasons for believing that no advantage existed. The colonies often involved considerable expense on the mother country for their maintenance, an expense which was apparently met sometimes with considerable reluctance since some of the bills of exchange drawn to finance the expenditures were paid only

after long delays even when they were paid at all. Admirers of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham—to mention only two illustrious names—will find here a good deal of material with which to buttress the argument of their masters upon this point.

There are illustrations, also, of a simple faith—which has by no means entirely vanished yet—in the power of government to establish the value of money by edict even in defiance of economic conditions. Consequently there are many illustrations of the operation of Gresham's law.

But perhaps the most interesting documents to students of currency are those relating to the Halifax currency. Here is a money originating—apparently—simply as a unit of account, because of the diversity in kind and value of the currency circulating in the new settlement, and becoming eventually a currency having a physical as well as a spiritual existence. Mr. Keynes opens his *Treatise on money* with the statement that "Money-of-Account, namely that in which Debts and Prices and General Purchasing Power are *expressed*, is the primary concept of a Theory of Money". It is interesting to find what seems like a parallel between history and theory. Since these documents end with the year 1758 they do not, however, furnish anything like a complete picture of Halifax currency.

W. R. MAXWELL

*Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca.* By HENRY R. WAGNER. Santa Ana, Calif.: Fine Arts Press. 1933. Pp. v, 323.

THIS is a real contribution to the history of the North-west coast. The failure of Spain to give contemporary publicity to her explorations northward from Mexico has left an impression, even among well-informed people, that her work was quite negligible. But when the records are examined, full reports containing much valuable information are found, showing the Spaniards on the western coast of Vancouver Island before Captain Cook; in southern Alaska before the Russians; and in the Strait of Fuca before Vancouver. These bare facts have been known, but the details have been lacking; they are now fully supplied.

Mr. Wagner is recognized as an authority upon Spanish exploration, especially on the coasts of California and southern Oregon; during the past two years he has been gradually making his way northward, on the trail of the explorers from Mexico. In the volume now under review, he takes up the story of Spanish explorations in the Strait of Fuca. Its discovery by Captain Charles William Barkley in 1787, the visits of Captain Charles Duncan and Lieutenant Meares in 1788, and of Captain Gray in 1789 are merely mentioned as background. For Spanish background is given Martinez's report of Narvaez's examination in 1789 of the entrance of the strait which had already been seen by the persons last mentioned. The value and interest of this book lies in its complete information on the work of Quimper in 1790, Eliza in 1791, and Galiano and Valdés in 1792. Mr. Wagner has followed the plan of offering a short sketch of the voyage and then a translation of the principal manuscript sources.

The maritime fur-traders from the days of Barkley, in 1787, had been contented to hover around the entrance of the so-called Strait of Juan de Fuca. Having discovered that sea-otters were scarce up the strait

and in its connecting waters, they had no curiosity regarding the direction those channels took nor the regions to which they led. But a belief in Fuca's tale of a navigable passage to the Atlantic in this latitude still lingered and furnished a motive for Spain to investigate that intricate and intriguing waterway. Hence the three Spanish voyages described in this book.

The first under Quimper in 1790 only reached the San Juan archipelago. The journal now published reveals the meticulous care with which the examination was made. Its detailed account will be of much value to the local historian and monographist, while at the same time forming a step in the gradual uncovering of the mystery of the strait. In 1791 Eliza took up the exploration at the point where Quimper had ended. For the first time students have now available in English the full record of the important exploration from San Juan archipelago to Texada Island in the Strait of Georgia. The only materials heretofore accessible in print have been Eliza's map and a short extract from his journal, in the San Juan boundary dispute papers. Mr. Wagner's notes here are, as usual, most illuminating, making plain the route followed through the labyrinth of islands. The third voyage, that of Galiano and Valdés in the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, 1792, is in a somewhat different situation. A narrative thereof was published in Spanish in 1802 under the title *Viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana*. It was translated into English and published some three years ago. Mr. Wagner has given pertinent extracts from this account, though not from the printed translation; but he has gone further and reproduced as a side-light the diary of the commanders for the whole voyage from Cape Flattery to Nootka, around Vancouver Island, part of which was performed in company with the *Discovery* and *Chatham* under Captain Vancouver.

In the chapter on Neah Bay, Mr. Wagner touches upon that short-lived Spanish settlement near Cape Flattery and the underlying motive for its establishment, showing that it was based upon an interpretation of the Nootka convention, and formed part of a wild scheme of division of the coast. The short chapter on sources presents a clear view of the number and location of documents bearing upon the Spanish explorations. It evidences the author's fine appreciation of the bearing and value of these materials. The introduction and notes are a mine of historical, geographical, biographical, and etymological information. Some statements have been noted in them which do not meet the approval of this reviewer; but in any event the points which might be thus challenged are minute and of small importance. Taken as a whole the work evinces a wide acquaintance with, and painstaking interest in, every matter at all germane to the subject. Unfortunately the index leaves much to be desired; it is, indeed, a poor key to the treasures of the volume.

The book contains more than a dozen contemporary and, speaking generally, heretofore unpublished plans, some general, some of individual ports, which will be found of use in following the narrative. The typographical work is beautifully done; it is a pleasure to handle such a volume.

F. W. HOWAY

*Five Fur-Traders of the Northwest: Being the Narrative of Peter Pond and the Diaries of John Macdonell, Archibald N. McLeod, Hugh Faries, and Thomas Connor.* Edited by CHARLES M. GATES, with an introduction by GRACE LEE NUTE. (Published for the Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. v, 298. (\$4.25)

MR. GATES has brought together in this volume five documents relating to the fur-trade at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. These documents have been chosen with particular reference to their bearing on the early history of Minnesota; but they are of importance also for the history of the Canadian fur-trade. Of the five, the *Narrative* of Peter Pond has already appeared in print; and Mr. Gates's chief excuse for printing it again is that he has been at some pains to establish an accurate version of the text. But the other four documents have never before been published, and they contain a good deal of new information. That part of John Macdonell's journal for 1793 which Mr. Gates prints (a section omitted by Masson in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*) throws, for example, some fresh light on the obscure problem of the opposition which was set up to the North West Company in that year, an opposition which foreshadowed the launching of the X Y Company later. Similarly, the journals of A. N. McLeod and Hugh Faries provide new details relating to the struggle between the North West Company and the X Y Company in the years 1800 and 1804, a subject in regard to which our materials have been decidedly scanty.

The brief introductions and the footnotes with which Mr. Gates has furnished these documents are, in many cases, most helpful. His notes on the geography and the customs of the fur-trade are excellent, as are the sketch-maps with which the volume is illustrated. But his biographical notes leave much to be desired. His familiarity with the personalities of the fur-trade is so defective that many of his identifications are wrong. If he had taken the trouble to look at the present reviewer's paper on *Namesakes in the fur-trade*, printed in this REVIEW in 1932, he would at least have been forewarned with regard to some of these. On page 99 he confuses the Simon Fraser who was a partner of the North West Company from 1795 to 1804 with Simon Fraser the explorer. On page 110 he incorrectly identifies "Mr. Blondish" with Maurice Blondeau, rather than Barthélemi Blondeau. On page 123 he confuses Archibald Norman McLeod with the Normand McLeod who was a partner of John Gregory in 1783-7; and he refers (p. 69) to an Alexander N. McLeod, although there was no such person in the fur-trade. The reference is, of course, to Alexander McLeod, the nephew of Normand McLeod. On page 189 the question is raised whether the diary of Hugh Faries may not have been written by Thomas McMurray, when, as a matter of fact, it could not possibly have been written by Thomas McMurray, since he was, during the period of the diary, in the service of the X Y Company, and only reached the Rainy Lake post after the diary ends. On page 198, the Roderick Mackenzie mentioned cannot be the Hon. Roderick Mackenzie, since he retired from the fur-trade in 1801; probably it was the "Captain

Roderick Mackenzie" who was for many years stationed at Nipigon. On page 200, the "Mr. Grant" mentioned can hardly have been Peter Grant, who returned to Montreal before 1803; it was no doubt James Grant, later the proprietor in charge at Fond du Lac. On the same page the tentative identification of a *voyageur* named Black with Samuel Black is quite impossible, since Black, like McMurray, belonged to the X Y Company. Throughout, the paucity of biographical details is excused by means of such statements as "Little seems to be known about Donald McKay" (p. 106) or "Little is known of either McMurray or Faries" (p. 189)—statements not at all in conformity with the facts.

These, however, are after all small matters, and detract in only a slight degree from the usefulness and value of the book, which is a welcome addition to the literature of the fur-trade. A noteworthy feature of it is the admirable index.

W. S. WALLACE

*Ceylon under British Rule, 1795-1832, with an Account of the East India Company's Embassies to Kandy, 1762-1795.* By LENNOX A. MILLS. London: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. vii, 311.

THIS volume, although written by a native of Vancouver, B.C., a graduate of the University of British Columbia, 1916, and Rhodes scholar from B.C., 1929, would not be eligible to a place in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, were it not that it relates certain facts which throw light on one incident in the history of Lord Selkirk's colony on the Red River. As one would not be likely to look in this volume for information relative to Canadian history, a reference to it may be found interesting.

It is common knowledge that when Lord Selkirk came to the Red River in 1816, he brought with him certain Swiss mercenaries, known in Canadian history as the "De Meurons". Little had hitherto been known of their history before they reached Canada. Gunn says: "These mercenaries served in the French Armies in Spain",<sup>1</sup> which is not correct. Robert B. Hill says that "They had done good service in the European War with Napoleon", and "at the close of that campaign had been sent to Canada to assist in the war against the States",<sup>2</sup> which is correct as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Beckles Willson says that the "regiments to which these men belonged were part of the body of German Mercenaries raised during the Napoleonic Wars",<sup>3</sup> which is not correct, as it was raised in Switzerland and *not* for the Napoleonic Wars, although it served therein. Professor Chester Martin<sup>4</sup> merely mentions them, without any reference to their prior history.

In Dr. Mills's book we find the early history of the De Meurons, the regiment from which Lord Selkirk's detachment was principally taken. It had been raised in Switzerland in 1782 by one Comte De Meuron,

<sup>1</sup>D. Gunn and C. R. Tuttle, *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa, 1880), 166.

<sup>2</sup>Robert B. Hill, *Manitoba, history of its early settlement, development and resources* (Toronto, 1890), 58.

<sup>3</sup>Beckles H. Willson, *The Great Company* (Toronto, 1899), 407.

<sup>4</sup>Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916), 115, 120, 122.

whence its name, for service under the Dutch East India Company in its possession in the South Seas. Probably, in a regiment of this kind, the personnel was not confined to Swiss alone, but sturdy fighting men would be accepted, whatever their nationality. In 1786, the count returned to Switzerland, leaving the regiment in the service of the company, with his brother, Colonel Pierre De Meuron in command.

In 1795, Holland, under compulsion, was aiding Napoleon in the war with England. This led to an expedition being fitted out in India for the occupation and conquest of Ceylon, in order to prevent that island being used by the French as a base for an attack on India. The De Meuron regiment was then a part of the Dutch garrison at Colombo; and, as the greater part of the balance of the garrison consisted of native levies, the most reliable.

While the expedition against Ceylon was being prepared, one Hugh Cleghorn, professor of civil law in the Scottish university of St. Andrews, came into the picture. He was a personal friend of Comte De Meuron, and knew that the Dutch authorities were far in arrears both in the payments to the count and to the men in the regiment, and that this was causing great dissatisfaction to all concerned. Cleghorn, therefore, went to his fellow-Scotsman, Henry Dundas, the president of the council, first Viscount Melville, told him of the trouble between De Meuron and the Dutch, and suggested that it might be possible for him to arrange for the transfer of the De Meurons to the British, thereby greatly weakening the Dutch defence, if not making any such impossible. Dundas heartily approved of Cleghorn's scheme, and authorized him to take the matter up with De Meuron forthwith. De Meuron was quite ready to act as Cleghorn wished him to.

Accordingly, Cleghorn and De Meuron went to India where the terms of the arrangement were concluded. The count was paid £4000 and it was agreed that both he and his brother should be given the rank of general in the British Army.

The next thing to be done was to get the regiment out of the Dutch employ. The count wrote a letter to his brother, acquainting him with the arrangements made with the British, and directing him to transfer the regiment to that service. This letter was entrusted to one Major Agnew to take to Colonel De Meuron at Colombo, and also to advise the Dutch governor there of the arrangement. As soon as Agnew arrived there, he interviewed the governor and advised him of the proposed transfer. The governor, appalled at the information that, on the eve of an attack by the enemy, his forces were to be so diminished, refused to allow any communication whatsoever with De Meuron. Agnew had foreseen the possibility, or rather the probability, of the governor taking this stand, and, before his interview with him, had sent the colonel the present of a Dutch cheese, with the letter of the count concealed therein. The colonel was satisfied with the agreement made by his brother, and so informed the governor, who threatened to imprison the regiment if he attempted to leave Colombo. Colonel De Meuron said that if he were not allowed to go away peaceably, he would attack the rest of the garrison. The governor knew that he had not sufficient other forces to control the De Meurons, and consequently



was forced to allow them to go, on obtaining from the colonel a promise that they would not assist the British in the approaching siege of Colombo.

The De Meurons arrived in India in November, 1795, and most of them enlisted in the British Army. The Dutch governor, deprived of the main part of his forces, was compelled to surrender Ceylon to England in February, 1796, without making any opposition. The De Meurons fought with the British forces during the Napoleonic Wars, and in Canada during the War of 1812. They were disbanded at Quebec in the spring of 1816.

The story of the De Meurons on the Red River, and their departure to the United States in 1826, has been fully told by Dr. Bryce in *The romantic settlement of Lord Selkirk's colonists*, so that it is unnecessary to go further into the story here.

R. L. REID

*History of the State of New York.* Edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK.

In ten volumes. Published under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association. Vol. I: *Wigwam and Bouwerie*. Vol. II: *Under duke and king*. Vol. III: *Whig and Tory*. Vol. IV: *The new state*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. xxxi, 361; xii, 437; x, 387; xiv, 387. (\$5.00 per volume)

THE New York State Historical Association, which has been doing excellent work under the presidency of Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, is now crowning its efforts by the publication of this ten-volume history of the state under the editorship of Dr. A. C. Flick, the state historian. If the general standard achieved in these first volumes is maintained to the end, the book will take a place not only of outstanding importance among state histories, but as a real contribution to the history of the continent. The names of the collaborators, of which over a score appear in the volumes under review, are a guarantee that the work is being done with the care and impartiality which are to-day characteristic of American historical scholarship. The first four volumes carry the story through the colonial period to the Treaty of 1783: the first deals with the Dutch régime; the second and part of the third with the developments under English rule; the remainder with the causes and course of the Revolution. The annotated bibliographies at the ends of the chapters indicate the great variety of sources and secondary materials which have been called into play, and we are promised in the tenth volume a critical general bibliography which should be a valuable work of reference.

From the days of Dutch rule New York has occupied a position of crucial significance in the military and commercial history of the continent. No state has had a more direct and long-continued relation to Canada and Canadian readers will find much to interest them here, especially as a great deal of attention is given to geographical influences and social and economic developments. The story of Iroquois diplomacy and trade through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the rivalry of Montreal and New York for control of the commerce of the lake region is clearly traced. Especially interesting in this connection is the description of the policy of the Albany merchants (II, chap. vi),

whose profits in supplying Montreal with goods for the Indian trade led them to oppose both the expansion of the English fur-trade and the military operations against the French. New York's part in the Revolution was also of great significance to Canada. Nearly one-third of the battles and skirmishes were fought within the bounds of the state. No state supplied more Loyalists and nowhere was the bitterness more acute. These difficult topics are treated with admirable clarity and impartiality and the results of recent research are discernible in every chapter.

GEORGE W. BROWN

*Fergus: The Story of a Little Town.* By HUGH TEMPLIN. Fergus: Fergus News-Record. 1933. Pp. 311. (\$2.50)

THE most intensely Scottish town in Ontario, one, indeed, that still ships oatmeal to Scotland, was in need of the printed history that has now been issued. Strangely enough the book comes from the pen of one who confesses no great love of history, yet it is so engagingly written that it is sure to prove of interest to many who know nothing of Fergus or its people. The book is in a way a by-product of the Fergus centenary celebrated last year and its chapter relating the discovery of the site of the town was set in the *News-record* shop one hundred years to the day after that discovery was made. The pioneers were Adam Fergusson and James Webster and when they found a clear bubbling stream falling over a cliff, the location of their new town was determined. It was perhaps not inappropriate that they valued the waterfall as a source of supply for a future distillery. Adam Fergusson, who brought his six sons to Canada, gave his name to the new town, and a number of the streets were named for members of his family. The important man in the early years would appear to have been Hugh Black, the first innkeeper. He was a sport, had four sporting sons and two sporting sons-in-law. The inn was not only the geographical centre of the town but the social, business, and religious centre as well. There the first services of St. Andrew's Church were held. The innkeeper in 1835 inaugurated the first stage-service to Hamilton, Monday and Tuesday being occupied in the journey out and Wednesday and Thursday in the journey home. Black was first president of the curling club. Lacrosse was born in Fergus in 1869. The work has an interesting story of Patrick Bell, who came out with the Fergussons and won fame as the inventor of the reaper; and of George Clephane, "the lost sheep" of Elizabeth Clephane's "There were ninety and nine that safely lay".

Mr. Templin has done well to preserve the record of the first electric light in Fergus. It came with a circus, and had this poster as herald, "The Great Electric Light, itself an unparalleled exhibition. Its Planetary, Constellated Conflagration of Effulgence and Heaven-born Splendour exceeds the full power of 240,000 Gas Lights." The diction of the circus apparently had reached perfection as early as 1880.

The volume bears none of the marks of the small-town press. A good type, good press-work, an excellent book-paper, careful proof-reading, are combined to make a book of fine quality. The author himself has supplied



most of the illustrations. These are creditably done in pen and ink. An outstanding printer recently made the boast that he had used but one half-tone in his work and would never use another. Mr. Templin with his pen and ink sketches has avoided the expensive and unsightly insertion of calendared pages. The dust-jacket has a sketch of Fergus in silhouette, showing the characteristic outline of the bridge, spires, and roofs of the Scottish town.

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF

*Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885.* Edited by H. A. INNIS and A. R. M. LOWER. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1933. Pp. viii, 846. (\$5.00)

THIS volume is a continuation of that on the period 1497-1783 which was issued in 1929 under the editorship of Professor Innis (reviewed in this journal, June, 1930), and contains a joint index to the two volumes.

The editors abjure economic determinism as an all-sufficient guide to the interpretation of history, pointing out, indeed, that the period with which they are concerned affords ample demonstration of its inadequacy. Yet they are convinced that too little weight has generally been given to economic factors. During the century here dealt with, several societies grew up in the northern half of this continent, developing from meagre and scattered beginnings till their enlarged populations and elaborated activities brought such a measure of economic independence and interdependence and such a degree of community of interest in their external relationships that these found expression not only in a more mature and far-reaching economic organization, but also in the growth of self-government on a national scale. The editors refrain from attempting to present an evenly proportioned picture of all phases even of the economic life of these converging societies. The book thereby gains in point and usefulness, the material being frankly selected to illustrate the significant interrelations of geographic environment and natural resources with economic activity and relationships as affected by, and contributing to, the growth of social and political institutions and ideas in a colonial society.

Familiarity with the political side of the history is assumed, likewise with the character of the economy already established, particularly in French Canada, at the beginning of the period. The St. Lawrence basin, by virtue of its geographic dominance, occupies the larger part of the picture. Upper Canada, with Montreal, becomes, indeed, the pivotal centre of much of the story embodied in the materials here presented. The Maritime Provinces, Western Canada (here the Hudson Bay drainage basin), and British Columbia are, however, dealt with separately in so far as the distinctive characteristics of their geography, resources, and development make the treatment of corresponding aspects for the St. Lawrence basin inapplicable to them.

The St. Lawrence basin, with the fringing Laurentian Shield, largely determined the direction, extent, and character of settlement, the principal exceptions during the period being found in those communities by the Atlantic and the Pacific which were dominated rather by their maritime location. Fish and furs, timber and other wood products, and wheat,

provided export staples for that traffic upon which, so largely and for so long, depended the opportunity of the colonial community to import both population and those elements of culture which must come from the motherlands if the colonial stage was to be satisfactorily outgrown. Competition between the St. Lawrence route and routes through the United States for the traffic in staples from the western hinterland on both sides of the international boundary furthered and shaped the improvement of water transport and the construction of railways. The nature of the route and the character of its traffic nurtured commercial and financial institutions of sorts readily adapted later to a national economy by extensions of operations and control eastward and westward.

The closeness of the neighbouring republic modified the working of mercantilism in the new empire from the time that the old empire was lost. Restrictions upon colonial enterprise and industry had to be removed early, while favours were for a long time enlarged. When Britain adopted free trade and consequently withdrew the favours, a temporarily satisfactory substitute was found in increased trade with the United States, but political barriers rendered that recourse eventually inadequate. If there was to be established that wide basis for credit upon which could be erected such sufficient connections with western hinterland and eastern winter ports, together with such concentration of industry in favoured areas as to make relatively secure the economically strategic position of the St. Lawrence basin, independently of shifts in the policy of the United States, there was required some such political consolidation as was accomplished by the formation of the federal Dominion of Canada and its rapid extension from sea to sea. The trans-continental railway and the iron steamship on ocean and inland waterway dominated the scene in significant fashion at the end of the hundred years, while an incipient factory system had already bred its peculiar social ills and given rise to a policy of economic nationalism.

The volume is divided into two parts at 1850, the first edited by Professor Lower, the second by Professor Innis. Part I comprises mainly quotations from sources arranged according to geographic sections and phases of economic life, each group of documents being prefaced by a note of introduction and interpretation. Part II, with a general organization roughly corresponding to that of Part I, is presented in the form of a summarized factual account of each topic, with concise indication of the significance of the information conveyed, interspersed with pertinent statistics and quotations from authoritative and often contemporary sources. In both parts the value of the material actually presented is augmented by ample references to the sources and literature bearing upon the successive topics, which make the book a comprehensive guide to the study of major phases of the economic history of the period. While the volume is thus neither an elaborated historical synthesis nor a collection of documents covering the whole range of economic history, the time has not come for either of these on a comprehensive scale. The work as it stands is a most important contribution towards an adequate synthesis of Canadian history in its manifold aspects, and suggests many modifications of generally accepted views which will stimulate further study.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

*Constitutional Issues in Canada, 1900-1931.* By ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON. Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. xvi, 482. (\$4.00)

It seems clear that Canada is now entering upon a period in which changing economic conditions will produce related changes in the constitution. The B.N.A. Act, drafted in 1867, shows itself every day more in need of adaptation to a world faced with the economic consequences of power production. The battle over constitutional issues is shifting from the law courts and from parliament, where hitherto it has principally been fought, to the hustings, and consequently the need for explanation and exposition of such problems is unusually pressing. As Dr. Dawson points out, no text-book about Canadian government has yet been written. *Constitutional issues in Canada, 1900-1931* is designed to assist in overcoming this difficulty by making the raw material for a study of Canadian government more accessible both to the layman and to the university student.

This purpose Dr. Dawson fulfils in a manner that will be more satisfactory to the student than to the layman. The former should welcome a volume that makes available, besides relevant governmental documents, a wide variety of parliamentary debates, public addresses, and magazine articles dealing with specific constitutional issues. Such standard collections as those of Shortt and Doughty, and Kennedy present the official papers relating to Canadian constitutional history, but this is the first time that these wider and less orthodox sources have been drawn upon. Dr. Dawson's raw material quite properly includes editorials from the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Toronto Globe*. Subjects usually glossed over—such as political corruption and the influence of "big business" on the Senate—receive proper attention. The result is a book that presents a more realistic and actual picture of the working of the constitution than such compilations usually provide.

For the layman, however, who wishes to be given a clear picture of issues at stake and who has little time or inclination for research, the book will be in some respects disappointing. The author introduces each chapter with a word of explanation about the material reprinted, but frequently it is difficult to gather from some particular speech or document the full significance of the issue being dealt with. Parliamentary debates usually contain more fat than meat, and the substance of the arguments, and their relation to the existing constitution, would not always be readily ascertained by a person unfamiliar with constitutional practice. A little more interpretation by Dr. Dawson would have assisted the ordinary reader and given the work a wider appeal.

The material included deals in some degree with all the important constitutional issues that have arisen in the first thirty years of this century, with the exception of matters relating to imperial relations. Two articles which might have been included are Mr. E. A. Forsey's "The royal prerogative of the dissolution of parliament", in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association* for 1930, and Mr. Woodsworth's "Co-operative government in Canada", published in the *Queen's quarterly* in the same year. The former suggests some qualification to Dr. Dawson's statement that Lord Byng's refusal of a dissolution to Mr. King in 1926 showed "an ignorance of constitutional usage which is almost impossible

to credit"; the latter emphasizes the important degree to which legislative power is shifting from the legislature to the executive. But it is rather pointless to suggest additions to a book that substantially covers the ground mapped out by the author; anyone who wants to know what representative Canadians have thought about the constitutional problems of the past thirty years will find it here.

F. R. SCOTT

*True North.* By ELLIOTT MERRICK. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1933. Pp. 353. (\$3.00)

*Arctic Village.* By ROBERT MARSHALL. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. Toronto: George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1933. Pp. xii, 399. (\$3.50)

*The Quest for Polar Treasures.* By JAN WELZL. With an introduction by BEDŘICH GOLOMBEK and EDVARD VALENTA. Translated by M. and R. WEATHERALL. London: George Allen and Unwin. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1933. Pp. 352. (\$3.00)

THE author of *True north*, a New York journalist, grew weary of life in a crowded city and accepted a position as school-teacher in the tiny Labrador village of North West River, at the head of Hamilton Inlet. There he married the Grenfell nurse, and the two joined a party of "Height-of-Landers" who paddled, poled, and tracked up the Hamilton River late in the autumn to their winter trapping grounds above Grand Falls. From the beginning of October till December 23, they shared a cabin with one of the trappers and tried to fit themselves into his life. By that time all the "Height-of-Landers" had exhausted their meagre supplies of food, and the entire brigade hurried back to the coast in forced marches, dragging their equipment and peltries on their sleds. Toward the end of the winter, Merrick left his wife at the Grenfell hospital and shared, with another Labradorian, a trap-line on Lake Winnikapau, then settled down for the summer months in an unoccupied dwelling on Goose Bay.

Clearly he was enchanted by this pioneer district, its wide open spaces and the free simple life of its inhabitants; and he has transferred some of the enchantment to his book. Again and again he bursts into poetic rhapsodies over the sparkling fields of virgin snow, the festooned fir trees, the foaming rapids, and the shimmering northern lights. He longs to qualify as a Labradorian, to wage an endless struggle, not with his fellowmen, but with a beautiful if pitiless nature that cleanses a man's soul from the pettiness of urban life and, through toil and hardship, points a road to contentment and peace. Perhaps he is a little too idealistic, for even the "true north" breeds its quota of human folly and weakness. But his idealism is infectious. His reader will share his delight in the trappers' camp-fires, and lay down his book regretfully, feeling saner and healthier, perhaps, through breathing for a brief space the keen, invigorating air of the Labrador main.

*Arctic village* stands removed from *True north* by the breadth of a whole continent. It is an "engineer's" account of Wiseman, a little village, half-Eskimo, half-white, on the Koyukuk River in northern

Alaska. The author is a forester and plant physiologist who made his first trip to the Koyukuk in the summer of 1929, lured, as he says, by a fascination for a blank space on the map of North America. He returned to spend a winter in the same district because its inhabitants seemed to him the happiest people he had ever encountered, and he wished to make "a detailed study of this civilization of the North". With a trunk full of note-books, apparently, each labelled for a definite topic, he rented a cabin in the village, and subsequently produced this book.

The table of contents, with its numerous parts subdivided under various headings, indicates both the merits of the work and its defects. Part I gives the geographical and historical setting. Part II introduces us to the white and Eskimo inhabitants, dissects them into age-classes, and tabulates their earlier occupations and their ratings as revealed by intelligence tests. It pictures also an evening in the village road-house, and another evening in an Eskimo cabin. Part III discusses the economic life, labour, capital, transportation, food, *etc.*; part IV the communal life under such headings as "Law and law enforcement", and "Quarrels and unpopularity"; part V, the sexual life; part VI the recreational life; and part VII, Koyukuk philosophy. Every here and there are tabulations of one kind or another; tables classifying the subject-matters of Koyukuk conversation; the popularity of various books and magazines; the marital histories of the men; the causes of quarrels and their frequency by months; expense accounts; distribution of wealth; and many others of rather uncertain worth.

Much of the material will have permanent value. Yet the reader cannot help feeling that this sociological study of a frontier community is more successful in describing the skeletal framework than the living tissue. A people's thoughts and outlook hardly lend themselves to statistical treatment, and it is impossible properly to understand and evaluate them without sharing their interests and living on the inside. The author was admittedly an outsider even to the white population, still more to the Eskimo; and the presence of the two races, one of which is notoriously hard for a European to fathom, involved unusual difficulties. One may hazard the guess that if he had remained in Wiseman longer, and identified himself more closely with the activities of the community, he would have modified some of his opinions and considerably altered the plan of his book. In spite of this, however, he has certainly given us a very interesting glimpse of pioneer life in a little known region, and of the processes of acculturation among the immigrant Eskimo.

The reviewer confesses that he lacked the courage to read *The quest for polar treasures*; its predecessor, *Thirty years in the golden north*, entertained him greatly, but left him jaded and exhausted. In this second volume, the hero, Jan Welzl, continues the tale of his imaginary adventures in the Siberian and American Arctic. He perambulates at will between his home in the New Siberian Islands and the Mackenzie River delta, joins a remarkable gold-rush from a fanciful Herschel Island to the Rocky Mountains, nearly meets his death from an explosive mineral, hunts and traps animals not recorded in any zoological text-book, blows

up a devil-fish with nitro-glycerine near the North Pole, and generally conducts himself as a true successor of Baron Munchausen.

It may be of interest to add that the reputed author, Jan Welzl, is a real person, who was living in Dawson City this last summer in a state of destitution. He claimed that the two Czech reporters who drained his imagination to put together these books paid him only \$60.00, though the first volume, *Thirty years in the golden north*, met with such favour that the Book of the Month Club in New York selected it as its number for July, 1932. One would imagine that a writer so superbly mendacious deserved a more liberal recompense—unless, indeed, the patronage of the Book of the Month Club outweighs all pecuniary reward.

D. JENNESS

*Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.* By CHARLES O. PAULLIN. Edited by JOHN K. WRIGHT. Published jointly by the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York. 1932. Pp. xv, 162, Plates 166.

OVER a page of acknowledgments indicates the extent to which the resources of American scholarship have been drawn upon for the production of this atlas during the period of preparation since 1912. The cartographical technique can scarcely be improved. Maps illustrating the evolution of cartography 1492-1867, land grants, and boundary disputes are included with those on population, production, and trade. Recent developments in spot maps and other methods of presentation are used. Indeed, technique shows signs of a growth which has been too rapid. The geographic science has grown beyond the adaptability of historical material to the cartographical method of treatment. The results are shown in the elimination of important maps, *e.g.*, of the fishing banks which exercised an important influence on the economic history of New England, of geology which is a fundamental basis to historical development, and of Indian cultural traits (*cf.* C. Wissler, *The American Indian*, New York, 1922), which are basic to an understanding of early relations. Climatic maps are rigidly limited in many cases to the United States boundary. The effects are evident even in the notes which precede the plates and which include important descriptive material and an extremely valuable bibliography, but nevertheless omit references to border-line works such as W. Smith, *A history of the British post office in North America 1639-1870* (Cambridge, 1920), J. A. Williamson, *The voyages of the Cabots* (London, 1929), J. W. Harshberger, *Phytogeographic survey of North America* (Leipzig, 1911), and K. W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor* (Cambridge, 1931). The map of French explorations in the west omits Canada while that of Spanish explorations includes Mexico. Maps of the Treaty of Utrecht and the Peace of Paris might well have been included. Historical scholars in the United States have displayed a notable tendency in recent years to adopt a continental approach in studying the history of their country and it is regrettable that the atlas does not more fully reflect this tendency.

The more glaring defects are shown in the fields of recent development of cartography, for example in the maps on commerce. Values of exports



and imports are of slight significance compared to information as to the kinds and quantities of commodities imported and exported and the countries with which trade developed. But, even in the established field of cartographical science, the maps illustrating cartographical evolution would be enormously improved by the addition of a key to names which have become unintelligible through reduction of the scale. The narrow cartographical approach needless to say weakens the value of the atlas to Canadians.

It is, perhaps, unfair to criticize a volume which is a landmark in the subject of historical geography. Even Canadians will find its contents of continued interest, especially such items as the maps of regional votes in Congress on important tariff legislation in the history of the United States.

H. A. INNIS

*Canadian Jewry: Prominent Jews of Canada. A History of Canadian Jewry, especially of the Present Time through Reviews and Biographical Sketches.* Edited by ZVI COHEN. Toronto: Published by the Canadian Jewish Historical Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. 304.

THE aim of this recently published book—to cover the entire field of contemporary Jewish life in Canada—is only partially fulfilled. Some eight hundred biographies and pictures of those who helped to finance the publication occupy 266 pages, while only 38 pages are given to the descriptions of the activities of Canadian Jews in various fields. The general chapters contain, however, some useful material.

"Jews in agriculture in western Canada" by Louis Rosenberg, is a valuable contribution to the history of the pioneer settlements in the west and gives useful information as to why some of the Jewish agricultural settlements have failed in the past. In the Prairie Provinces a number of Jewish agricultural settlements still exist. Mr. P. Kaplan, in treating of "Jewish institutions in Canada" makes an inaccurate statement (p. 15) with regard to the Young Men's Hebrew Association: "Again this society passed through a re-organization, and to date is known as the Baron Hirsh Institute. This institution, together with the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris, and the Mansion House supported all immigrants from 1880 to 1890." The London Mansion House Fund for the relief of Russo-Jewish refugees only assisted those immigrants who entered Canada in 1882. The committee was only instrumental through its generous loan of £2,000 for the establishment of the settlement called "New-Jerusalem" near the present-day Moosomin. The Baron Hirsh Institute was only established in 1890 by the late philanthropic baron, to give free education to poor immigrant children. The work of the I.C.A.—the Jewish Colonization Association—started late in 1892, when again the baron supplied the necessary funds for colonization purposes. The indifference and lack of any communication of the Jewish organizations in the Canadian east with their immigrant co-religionists in the west at that time is clear from the letter which they addressed to the Department of Agriculture in 1892, asking about the location of the lands purchased some years before by the London Mansion House Committee.

"Pioneers in Canada" by Dr. M. Steinberg has forgotten to mention

the groups of Jewish refugees who were engaged in construction work by the C.P.R. in 1882. He should have also mentioned all the names when he says, "In the records of many of these new progressive cities and towns like Kingston, Kirkland Lake and Timmins, the names of many Jews were given a permanent place among the heroes". Why refer only to Hart of Three Rivers and Kaplan Bros. of Kirkland Lake?

Dr. S. Goldman's essay "The national movement in Canada" contains much useful information, and will be helpful in understanding the census returns in respect to the Jewish population. The sections on Jewish history, education, youth, and business add little to what is already known from previous publications.

The editor is to be congratulated for being courageous enough to state the existence of discrimination against the Jew in Canada by various institutions. His essay on "Emancipation but not equal rights" is a challenge and should be read by everyone. The importance of Dr. Cohen's contribution is not only that he makes clear the existence of this "social disease" in Canada, but raises the question as to how non-English-speaking groups may be assimilated if there is discrimination against those who differ only in their religious views from the dominant elements.

As a whole the volume gives a vivid picture of Jewish life in the communities from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores, and considering the difficulty of gathering the materials scattered over so large an area, the reader is willing to forgive a good many defects both of omission and commission.

ANDREW A. MARCHBIN

*Traits of American Indian Life and Character.* By a Fur Trader. London: Smith, Elder, and Company. 1853. Pp. 218. Reissued by the Grabhorn Press, San Francisco. 1933. Pp. 107.

THIS is a republication of an anonymous book issued in 1853, and which has now become scarce and rare. This reissue is a fine example of the printer's art, in the very best style of the Grabhorn Press. It beautifully reproduces the original text, without alteration even in its errors. Nothing has been added save a preface of some 150 words and a half dozen contemporary (and not very apposite) woodcuts, taken from Father de Smet's *Missions de l'Orégon* (Gand, 1848). The editor, as though fearing to enter upon a debatable question, has not vouchsafed any remarks upon the contents or authorship of the volume, though it was worthy of a full introduction in which the much-debated question of the identity of the author and of the claims made on behalf of Donald Manson, Duncan Finlayson, and Peter Skene Ogden might have been adequately discussed. The value of the incidents recorded as a part of the history and ethnology of the west and their coincidence (or otherwise) with modern scientific knowledge should have been treated either in an introduction or in notes. Certainly some notes were required at least to indicate to the casual reader the utter absence of any local, logical, or chronological connection amongst the sixteen stories that compose the volume.

It is plain that these stories are of events in the life of Peter Skene Ogden; and, being told as by an eye-witness, it is the opinion of this



reviewer that Ogden was the author of the book, though it is quite probable that some editor prepared it for the press.

F. W. HOWAY

*Tales of the British Columbia Frontier.* By WILLIAM WARD SPINKS. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. ix, 134. (\$1.50)

JUDGE SPINKS has a wealth of stories of British Columbia and a reputation as a *raconteur*. As a practising lawyer in Kamloops in the '80's and as judge there for twenty years, he had an opportunity of meeting many of the real "old timers" who knew southern British Columbia when it was on the frontier line. This book contains eleven stories—all true—in which such men and such times are brought into view. Most of them have historic value, factually; all of them have historic value, atmospherically. Noteworthy amongst them are "The McLean boys" and "The sorrows of Gerry Hill": the former tells of the four half-breed outlaws whose murders and other desperate crimes kept Kamloops in fear for months; the latter deals with the clash between the province and the dominion in the administration of law, especially as related to the sale of intoxicating liquor, within the "railway belt". Unfortunately they are marred by errors, which though not touching the main lines could, and in the interest of historical accuracy should, have been avoided. The story of "Father Pat"—the Rev. Henry Irwin—recounts one of the many personal sacrifices which made him the idol of Kootenay; and Judge Spinks has told it very graphically.

F. W. HOWAY

*Medicine in Canada.* By WILLIAM BOYMAN HOWELL. (*Clio Medica*, a series of primers on the history of medicine, edited by E. B. KRUMBHAAR, IX.) New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 76 Fifth Avenue. 1933. Pp. xiii, 137. (\$1.50)

THIS is number nine of a series of primers on the history of medicine prepared under the editorship of Dr. E. B. Krumbhaar. In this series the title appears as "Canadian medicine"; but Dr. Howell with his appreciation of his undertaking has *Medicine in Canada* appear upon the title page. This allows him to progress along the lines of his title page motto "History is a pageant not a philosophy". His pageant is a series of chapters in the medical history of Canada, any one of which may be read quite independently of any other. He begins with a picture of Jacques Cartier at Quebec in 1635 and the epidemic of scurvy among his crew, the first record of disease in Canada. He records an autopsy on one of the seamen, a first attempt to study disease in Canada, and records how Cartier's observation and inquiry led to the discovery of the Indian method of cure. He tells of the beginnings in Acadia and in the eastern provinces. Chapter xix is entitled "Medicine in the Prairie Provinces". It sketches the settlement of the provinces with only some five lines devoted to the *present* state of medicine! He tells the story of the beginnings of the great hospitals and of the faculties of medicine in the universities of the eastern provinces. Much space is properly devoted to biographical sketches of pioneer physicians. His bibliography with sixty-two entries indicates that he has read

widely but there are no entries of unpublished documents or of records in archives or private collections, and there are several typographical errors. His short reference to "a Scotchman named Dunlop" gives a picture quite different from that in Colonel F. S. L. Ford's biographical sketch (*William Dunlop*, Toronto, 1931), to which no reference is made. We are surprised to read that the York General Hospital was erected at the north-west corner of King and Yonge Streets. The income and expenditures of the hospital for 1841 (p. 100) are slightly different from those given by C. K. Clarke in his history of the hospital, and the date 1854 at top of page 101 should be 1845.

Yet it is a delightful little book to read and should have an interest for all Canadians. It is the story of development with an outline of the beginnings, of the men and women and their origins, who were the pioneers in practice and teaching, in the establishment of hospitals, and who played their part in some of the great epidemics. The writer's quiet humour, his light touch of caricature, his apparently studied attempt to avoid other than scanty reference to present-day conditions have combined to make enjoyable reading which will convey much information with a touch of amusement.

J. H. ELLIOTT

*Marché des Dupes? La Conférence Impériale d'Ottawa.* By LEOPOLD RICHER. Montreal: Albert Lévesque. 1933. Pp. 208.

THIS little book is much better as a piece of agreeable prose than as a piece of economic argument. The descriptive and historical chapters which form the first half of the volume present a good picture of the circumstances which led up to the Ottawa Conference, but the latter half of the work is marred by journalistic inconsistencies and economic blunders, particularly in references to the control of the foreign exchanges and the forces determining the general level of prices.

The arrangement and tone of the book attempts to convince the reader by suggestion and insinuation rather than by argument that Canadian interests were unwittingly sacrificed at Ottawa before the wiles of English diplomacy. The writer foresaw what has thus far happened, that the apparent gains from the treaty would first accrue to Canada, but contends that the ultimate gains will be reaped by Great Britain. These gains are said to arise out of two special concessions given by Canada: first, the granting of free entry to British manufactures of a kind not yet made in this country, and second, the opportunity given to British manufacturers to state their grievances before an implacable Canadian tariff board. As the first was almost the only particle of free trade to be found in the whole of Canada's concessions, and as M. Richer appears to favour freedom of trade in his concluding chapter, it is hard to reconcile his general belief in freer exchange with his condemnation of the one article of the treaty which provides for its future extension.

The attempt of the author to show that the treaty represents a sinister triumph of British diplomacy ("à d'autres la gloire, à elle les profits") is also contradicted toward the end, by his view that all parties to the Ottawa agreement are likely to lose more than they gain. Since the book was written, the course of trade seems to have justified the

latter opinion. The aggregate value of Canadian foreign trade began to improve as soon as the recovery began in the United States, but not before. In the nine months between the Ottawa Conference and the beginning of recovery, the only noticeable effect of the new treaties was to divert a small fraction of the dwindling values away from foreign and into imperial channels. The British representatives at Ottawa may have shown more astuteness than the Canadian, but the smoothly tailored garment of English diplomacy covered an equally disjointed skeleton of pretentious fallacy.

At the end of the volume, a minor defect of the treaty which has not received the attention that it deserves is brought to light. The French-Canadian population suffers from the higher rates on books and other articles habitually imported from France, without any gain whatever accruing to British producers.

D. C. MACGREGOR

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### THE ARCHIVES OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The issue of last December of the *Beaver*, published by the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg, contains an article of great interest with regard to the archives of the company by Mr. R. H. G. Leveson Gower, the company's archivist in London. After reviewing the plans which were made, subsequent to the celebration by the company of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its incorporation, for the organization of the vast accumulation of records and the publication of certain materials, the article proceeds: "On the appointment of the present Governor, Mr. P. Ashley Cooper, and the reconstitution of the Board in 1931, the importance of providing adequate and suitable permanent accommodation for the archives was given special consideration, and in April, 1932, their removal to the present location on the lower ground floor of Hudson's Bay House was ordered. Professor R. Coupland, of Oxford University, was invited to inspect the Company's archives with a view to suggesting the best means of classifying them and rendering them available to students, and at his suggestion Mr. C. Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A., one of the deputy keepers of the Public Record office, also inspected them. In accordance with recommendations embodied in their subsequent reports, special steel shelving was installed in replacement of the temporary wooden cases previously used and various additional precautionary measures were introduced to safeguard the archives from damage by fire or water."

Very considerable progress in classifying and indexing has been made, and the following general principles have been adopted: "The whole of the archives prior to 1870 will comprise five sections as under, each section being divided into classes, these classes being again subdivided into pieces (each piece consists of a volume, file, box, bundle or parcel). In the case of Section B referred to below, however, it is the intention to form an additional subdivision so that the various types of volumes or documents belonging to the Company's posts and administrations in North America may be more readily identified. The documents relating to the period since 1870 will be dealt with on a similar basis in due course.

*Section A*—Will consist of the London office records, and will be divided into eighty-six classes; e.g., Class No. 1 will consist of the minute books of the Governor and Committee and comprise one hundred and forty-three pieces or volumes covering the period 1671-1870.

*Section B*—Will consist of records pertaining to the various administrations of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, and will be divided into about three hundred and fifty classes, these to be again subdivided into twenty-three divisions. The system to be pursued with regard to the classification of the volumes, documents, etc., contained in this section is briefly as follows: An entire class will be allocated to the records of each separate Hudson's Bay Company post or administration, and these classes will be subdivided into the various types of books and documents of which they consist. It will thus be possible, if required,

to readily assemble all the journals, account books, correspondence books, etc., of a number of posts, since all books of one type will bear the same letter of subdivision; e.g., "A" post journals, "B" correspondence books, "C" account books.

*Section C*—Will consist of records pertaining to ships and will be divided into eight classes; e.g., ships' logs will form one class. All logs will be arranged alphabetically under the name of the ship to which each refers and chronologically under the names of the several ships.

*Section D*—Will be designated "Special Section of Records" and will consist of sixteen classes including those records of the Hudson's Bay Company which cannot properly be allocated to Section B (reserved exclusively for the records of posts and administrations) or to either of the other two sections. Classes of records which it is proposed to place in Section D are as under:

Journals of exploration by members of the Hudson's Bay Company staff.

Records of the Red River colony.

Records appertaining to the Riel Rebellion.

Miscellaneous papers relating to a variety of persons and subjects.

Correspondence, etc., of Hudson's Bay Company administrators in North America; e.g., of Sir George Simpson and of other Governors-in-Chief of Rupert's Land.

When we come to consider the question of the disposal of the records after the Deed of Surrender of Rupert's Land, it will probably be found more convenient to include the correspondence books and other records of the Company's commissioners in this section.

Hudson's Bay Company records relating to parliamentary committee appointed in 1857 to investigate the Company's affairs.

*Section E*—Will consist of records of subsidiary companies and organizations other than the Hudson's Bay Company and comprise seventeen classes including, for the sake of illustration, documents, etc., possessed by the Company pertaining to the following companies: The North-West Company, The Puget's Sound Agricultural Society, Limited.

*Section Z*—Miscellaneous records, consisting of four classes comprising records not forming part of the archives of any Hudson's Bay Company administration, such as: Correspondence of Hudson's Bay Company servants exclusively of a private nature; books of newspaper cuttings; parliamentary Acts; Stowe Papers purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1923 from the collection of the late Duke of Buckingham and Chandos."

The article concludes with a statement as to general policy: "The Board appreciate that the Company's archives comprise a collection of documents which should prove of absorbing interest to students of Canadian history and others, and it is hoped in the not too distant future to grant facilities for research. In this connection a general summary of classes will be prepared for the assistance of students, and also class lists containing particulars of the various items included in each.

The work in connection with classification, etc., in accordance with the scheme above outlined is now in progress, and it will be realized that a very considerable amount of time and thought has been devoted

recently to the question of the usefulness and care of the Company's archives. It is probable that some alteration in matters of detail will be found necessary before the scheme is perfected, but the foregoing gives a general idea of the system which has been adopted.

Complementary to the work already outlined, consideration has been given by the Board to the important question of maintaining the continuity of our archives, and the following resolution was passed at a meeting held on May 16th, 1933:

"That there spective managements in London and in Canada be instructed to examine all the Company's records with a view to providing for continuity of collection of all important documents for preservation in the Company's archives at the London head office."

Several photographs are given illustrating the very adequate facilities for shelving and the care taken to provide beautiful and permanent bindings for many of the volumes. The injury and destruction of any of these records would have been an irreparable loss and the service which the company is performing will, therefore, be deeply appreciated. The company cannot be expected to provide all the facilities for inquirers which are customary in a public archives. In making some provision for serious students engaged in research it will, however, offer an opportunity of inestimable value in the writing of Canadian history.

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The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, including a joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association, is planned for May 21-2 next, in Montreal. Inquiries should be addressed to the secretary at the *Public Archives*, Ottawa.

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Number I of the "Publications of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia" has made its appearance and is listed in our list of recent publications. It is an attractively printed catalogue of the Akins collection of books and pamphlets, and we trust it is the precursor of a long and useful series.

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Under the direction of Mr. Howard Angus Kennedy, a trip for those interested in Canadian history is being arranged similar to that arranged for the Canadian Authors' Association last year. Numerous places of historic interest will be visited and conferences with British historians are being planned at the Institute of Historical Research in London, at Oxford University, and at the University of Bristol. Many well-known historians are co-operating in the arrangements. The dates are June 21 to July 28. Particulars may be obtained by writing to Mr. Kennedy, P. O. Box 1424, Montreal.

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The authors of the articles in this issue are Mr. F. G. Roe of Edmonton and Professor Paul W. Gates of Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. The documents have been contributed by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell of Toronto, Mr. G. S. Graham of Harvard University, and Professor D. C. Harvey of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. We are again indebted to Professor T. F. McIlwraith of the University of Toronto for the annual list of recent publications on Canadian anthropology and allied subjects.

## CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver.* During 1933 a large number of documents and photographs were added to the Archives and special efforts were made to secure local historic material. The number of visitors to the museum increased during the year. We have received from the association a mimeographed copy of "Historical and ecological notes of a trip to the Hope Mountains" by Fred Perry.

*Canadian Historical Association.* The publication of the *Report of the annual meeting, 1933*, has been made possible by the generous help of the Hon. Senator Cairine Wilson, Ottawa, and Mrs. A. C. Hardy, Brockville. The historical papers printed in the *Report* have been entered in our list of recent publications.

*The Canadian North West Historical Society.* Volume I of the documentary series which is being published by the society, will be completed with "The story of the press", part 2, and "The story of the post-office and telephone". The programme of the society includes the development of archives and historic sites of interest. Editor, Campbell Innis, Battleford, Sask.

The *Canadian Political Science Association* will hold its annual meeting for 1934 at McGill University on May 21, 22, and 23. The programme is not finally prepared, but will probably include general sessions on the transportation problem, the future of the Canadian dollar, economic nationalism, public administration in Canada, Canadian population problems; and there will probably be a joint session on economic history with the Canadian Historical Association.

The *Champlain Society* has published Dièreville's *Relation of a voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France*, translated by Mrs. J. C. Webster and edited by Dr. J. C. Webster.

*Elgin Historical Society.* The work of marking historical sites is proceeding, thanks to the co-operation of the Ontario Department of Highways. Two interesting sets of slides have been prepared, showing the beauties of the domestic architecture of the early settlements in both west and east Elgin.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* held its regular quarterly meeting on February 5. The papers for the evening's programme included a description of Pouttrincourt's mill at L'Equille and of the Scottish fort at Port Royal, written by Mrs. Harriet Richardson of Cambridge, Mass.; "The evolution of the Annapolis Academy", by Mrs. Edward McClafferty; a paper reviewing eight books recently acquired by the library at Fort Anne, by Capt. F. W. Byng-Hall; and extracts from an "Annapolis journal" of 1877, with comments, by F. W. Harris. A fund is being raised by the association to erect a memorial at Fort Anne in memory of the late Mr. L. M. Fortier, first honorary superintendent of Fort Anne National Park, and organizer of the association (H. LAURA HARDY).

*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.* President, Count de Bury; corresponding secretary, Col. F. Stanton; council secretary, Baron d'Avray. Address, Morrin College, Stanislas Street, Quebec.



The *Norfolk Historical Society* has had recently the formal opening of its historical museum, Mr. Hart of the Royal Ontario Museum being the principal speaker on the occasion. Mr. W. Edgar Cantelon is the curator.

The *Ontario Historical Society* is to hold its annual meeting at Queen's University, Kingston, from June 28 to 30, 1934. Provisionally the Right Hon. R. B. Bennett, U.E., is expected to be present and to deliver an address upon the Loyalists *à propos* of the sesqui-centenary of their settlement in the upper country of the old Province of Quebec, which is now Ontario.

A series of lectures is being delivered in Trinity College, Toronto, on Saturday afternoons, February 10, 17, 24, and March 3, 10, 17, at 3.30 o'clock. The lecturers and subjects in order are: the Hon. Louis A. Côté, member of the Canadian senate, on "Jacques Cartier"; Professor George M. Wrong on "The Loyalist background, 1763-1783"; Professor Chester Martin on "The Loyalists in New Brunswick"; Dr. George H. Locke of the Toronto Public Library on "The Loyalists in Ontario"; Professor A. H. Young on "Toronto, how and why it grew"; T. A. Reed, Esq., on "The story of Toronto, illustrated with lantern views".

In response to an invitation from the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, the council of the society has agreed provisionally to co-operate in the production of a dictionary of British Empire place names. In this connection, it has appointed as a committee Professors Young, Landon, Martin, McArthur, and Morrisseau, with the secretary and the president.

To explore the possibilities of compiling a Doomsday Book of source material for the history of the province—letters, diaries, journals, documents, maps, books, portraits, *etc.*—the council appointed Dr. Locke, Mr. C. W. M. Hart, of the Royal Ontario Museum, Professor Martin, Professor Young, the secretary, and the president to be a committee. To have material at present unavailable made accessible will be a part of the committee's endeavour.

Brigadier-General Cruikshank's volume of *Loyalist papers* is printed and ready for distribution by the secretary. It is proposed to proceed this year with publication of volume II of his *Russell papers*.

Miss Fanny F. Campbell's offer to present to the society portraits of the late William Campbell, Toronto, and the late Thomas Carfrae, collector of the port of Toronto in 1834, together with an old scrap book, has been gratefully accepted.

New local societies are reported as having been formed at Cayuga, Chatham, Gananoque, and Perth. The REVIEW would be very glad to receive information about these societies.

The secretary has completed a catalogue of the books and pamphlets in the society's library. He has also brought up to date the index of its volumes of *Papers and records*.

*Prince Albert Historical Society.* During the year several interesting stories from old-timers in the district have been compiled and some members of the society have co-operated with Professor Morton of the University of Saskatchewan in endeavouring to locate the sites of old fur-trading posts on the North Saskatchewan River. The society was

visited and addressed by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell and Professor H. A. Innis of Toronto. The historical museum had a very successful season for its first year; about five hundred people visited it and many articles of historical interest were donated. The museum is unique in that practically every article in the collection is a free-will gift from interested friends. Two new sections in the museum have been requested, namely, a North West Mounted Police section and a Great War section. A bronze plaque, presented by the Imperial Bank of Canada, has been placed above the entrance door of the museum with the following inscription: "This building, the first church and school in Prince Albert, built in 1867 by the Reverend James Nisbet, pioneer Presbyterian missionary and founder of the city, was gifted by the Imperial Bank of Canada to the Prince Albert Historical Society by whom it was moved to this spot, and on October 1, 1932, opened as the Prince Albert Historical Museum." (W. A. MACDONELL)

*Royal Society of Canada.* The *Mémoires and transactions* of the meeting of 1933 have been published and the papers relating to Canadian history and economics are listed in our list of recent publications.

*Similkameen Historical Association.* At the last quarterly meeting recently acquired photographs of places and pioneers of the valley were exhibited, as well as a collection of mineralogical specimens which had been presented to the association. An address was given by Mr. Ernest Waterman, describing the Indians of the valley, the cattlemen, and the prospectors, and Mr. Waterman's first hunting expedition in the Similkameen. An interesting and informative diary, written by Ed. Hughes, has come to light. It contains about three thousand words and tells of travels in British Columbia in 1884 (JOHN GOODFELLOW).

*La Société d'histoire régionale des Trois-Rivières* is giving special attention to the important anniversary celebrations of this year. The secretary of the society is engaged in the publication of a collection of local history, twenty fascicules of which have already appeared. President, Arthur Béliveau; secretary, the Rev. Albert Tessier, Séminaire St-Joseph, Three Rivers.

*La Société historique de Montréal.* During 1933 the following historical papers have been read before the society: "Les députés du comté de Laprairie, sous l'union", by M. J. J. Lefebvre; "L'Île Sainte-Hélène, son histoire, ses monuments", by M. Lionel Lapointe; "Henry Blackstone", by Gérard Malchelosse; "L'Île Jésus", by M. l'abbé Edmond Lacroix; "La célébration de la Fête-Dieu à Montréal depuis 1658 à nos jours", by M. Henri Comte; "Députés du comtés Laprairie-Napierville, 1867-1929", by M. J. J. Lefebvre; "La Mauricie", by M. l'abbé Albert Tessier; "L'honorable L. J. Papineau à Paris, 1839-1845", by M. Robert Rumilly; "La famille de Rocheblave", by M. Aegidius Fauteux.

*La Société historique de Rigaud* was founded in February, 1932, and already twenty-five meetings have been held during which the members have debated several important subjects, such as: "Was the abolition of the seigniorial rights or privileges profitable or a setback for the seigniories?"; "What was the exact meaning, the advantages, or the inconveniences of the grant called 'fiefs roturiers'?"; "A topic or study of how the lands of the seigniorie of Rigaud were granted"; "The history

of 'Lac à Florent', Lac Georges, and the 'clôture écartante', legendary and picturesque spots at Rigaud"; "The tragic scene of the landslides that happened a century ago in the 'Rang du P'tit Brulé', Parish of Rigaud"; "The general history of the Seigniories of Vaudreuil, Soulanges, Rigaud, and Nouvelle Longueil". Among the subjects to be discussed are the history of the fur-trade at "Petit Carillon" now Pointe Fortune; and also of the old fort that was there in 1749. President, the Rev. F. Alphonse Gauthier; secretary, the Rev. F. Irénée Gauthier, Bourget College, Rigaud, P.Q. (IRÉNÉE GAUTHIER).

*La Société Historique des Cantons de l'Est* has issued an interesting pamphlet entitled "Où fut célébrée la première messe à Sherbrooke", the first of a proposed series of publications on historical subjects. President, Dr. Valmore Olivier; secretary the Rev. Maurice O'Bready, Séminaire St-Charles, Sherbrooke, P.Q.

The *United Empire Loyalists' Association* has experienced one of the most successful years in its history (1933), with an increase in the number of branches and in general membership. Of particular note have been the celebrations organized in Saint John and Fredericton commemorating the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists in the Maritime Provinces. The REVIEW has received volume III (3) of the *Loyalist gazette* and has noted its contents in the list of recent publications.

*Welland County Historical Society.* At the annual meeting held on February 8, announcement was made that material is ready for publication of the fifth volume of the society's *Papers and records*. One of the articles throws considerable new light on the Morgan episode. Dr. James J. Talman gave an address on the Ontario Archives. George H. Smith of Port Colborne was elected president and Louis Blake Duff of Welland, secretary.

The *York and Sunbury Historical Society* held its annual meeting on January 17. An excellent paper on the "History of Devon, York County" was read by Mrs. Haines of Devon. The most important piece of research undertaken by the society, in co-operation with the National Museum of Canada, during the latter part of 1933 was the investigation of an old aboriginal burial ground on the government house grounds in Fredericton. Three skeletons were moved to the National Museum and two to the museum of the society; a copy of the report has been filed with the National Museum, the Provincial Archives, and in the records of the society.

Mrs. Lillian Maxwell, historian of the society, has had ninety-six instalments of her history of central New Brunswick published in the daily *Gleaner* of Fredericton. Later, it will possibly be issued as a book. The narrative of Hannah Ingraham, Loyalist colonist at St. Anne's Point in 1783, with notes by R. P. Gorham, was published in the Saint John *Telegraph journal* in instalments, from December 23 to 27. It was followed by another series (December 28 to January 11) on the origin of place names in the parish of Bright, York County.

In the society's museum space is sadly lacking for the material available. One room has been devoted to a collection of Acadian relics from Westmorland County, one of the first settled portions of the province. President, W. W. Hubbard (R. P. GORHAM).

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

BAIRD, SMITH, A. G. *The empire's military system* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (1), Oct., 1933, 39-45).

*The British Commonwealth and the League of Nations* by the editor (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (1), Oct., 1933, 86-92). Arguments against the applicability of the League's "collective system of security" to the world of to-day.

*British Commonwealth relations* (Round table, no. 93, Dec., 1933, 43-61). A discussion under the headings "The Toronto Conference", "The Commonwealth and the collective system", "The future of foreign policy", and "The machinery of co-operation".

*Canada—The Banff Conference* (Round table, no. 93, Dec., 1933, 190-5). A report of the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, August, 1933.

*Canada—The British Commonwealth Relations Conference* (Round table, no. 93, Dec., 1933, 195-202). A view of the repercussions of the Conference in Canada.

CANUCK. *Canada and imperial defence* (Army quarterly, July, 1933, 234-45).

COOPER, HARRY. *How the empire grew: The story of British colonization: With a chapter on the League of Nations*. Revised edition by MAY MARSHALL. London: Butterworth. 1933. Pp. 157. (2s.)

*Empire economic co-operation: The work of the E.M.B. and the future* (United empire, XXIV (11), Nov., 1933, 659-61). A memorandum on the work and value of the Empire Marketing Board.

GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M. *The British Commonwealth Relations Conference, 1933: A personal impression* (International affairs, XII (6), Nov.-Dec., 1933, 763-74). Mr. Gathorne-Hardy comments particularly on the frankness and candour of the discussions, especially of those on the meaning, purpose, and reality of the imperial bond, and gives an account of the discussions on the preservation of peace and on improved machinery for co-operation in foreign affairs.

HAMILTON, L. *Kanada und British-Westindien* (Koloniale Rundschau, XXV Jahrgang, Heft 8-10, 30 Oktober, 1933, 269-72). The author says that Canada regards the British West Indies as, economically speaking, complementary to herself, and believes, therefore, that they should be united.

KEITH, BERRIEDALE. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, third series, XV, part iv, Nov., 1933, 255-64). Contains notes on "The United Kingdom as a dominion", "Diplomatic immunities in the dominions", "The provinces and indirect taxation", "Dominion courts, the Privy Council, and the House of Lords", "British courts and dominion legislation", etc.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Toronto* (South African law times, II (11), Nov., 1933, 231-2). An account of its organization, its meetings, and its preliminary discussion of co-operation in foreign policy.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Statute of Westminster* (Judicial review, XLV (4), Dec., 1933, 330-43).

LOWER, A. R. M. *Foreign policy and the empire* (Nineteenth century, CXIV (679), Sept., 1933, 257-64). The writer believes that a centralized or unified foreign policy would be fatal to whatever unity remains in the British Commonwealth.

- MATHESON, CYRIL. *The life of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, 1742-1811*. London: Constable and Co. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. xii, 432. (\$6.00) A carefully written biography making use of new materials. Contains little on Canada but is useful for the background of imperial policy.
- NEWTON, A. P. *A junior history of the British Empire oversea*. London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son Ltd. 1933. Pp. x, 286. (65 cents) An excellent little history for boys and girls of the beginnings, growth, and development of the British Empire oversea, including the Thirteen Colonies, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, etc. The volume is well printed, the various illustrations are interesting and well chosen, and the numerous maps are a particularly useful and commendable feature of the book.
- POWER, JOHN. *The first British Commonwealth Relations Conference* (Empire review, no. 395, Dec., 1933, 328-31). An impression of the Conference.
- ROBERTSON, H. C. H. *The empire and modern war* (Army quarterly, July, 1933, 246-53).
- ROSE, J. HOLLAND et al (eds.). *The Cambridge history of the British Empire*. Vol. VII, part I: *Australia*. Part II: *New Zealand*. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1933. Pp. xix, 759; xiii, 309. (\$9.00; \$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- SERTOLI SALIS, RENZO. *Le colonie della Corona britannica* (Annali di scienze politiche, mars, 1933, 1-36).
- SHATSKY, BORIS. *L'Angleterre et ses dominions* (Revue de droit international de sciences diplomatiques, politiques et sociales, janv.-mars, 1933, 1-21). An historical survey of the relations between England and the dominions and of the evolution of dominion autonomy, especially in relation to international affairs.
- WILLIS, JOHN. *The parliamentary powers of English government departments*. (Harvard studies in administrative law, IV.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1933. Pp. 214. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- WRIGHT, QUINCY. *British Commonwealth Relations Conference* (American journal of international law, XXVIII (1), Jan., 1934, 122-5). A report from an outside point of view of the Conference and of the tendencies within the Commonwealth which it illustrates.
- ZIMMERN, ALFRED. *The open door and reciprocity as illustrated by developments within the colonial empire* (Queen's quarterly, XXXL (4), winter, 1933, 501-15). A discussion of the Ottawa Conference and the fiscal relations between the dependent colonies and the self-governing dominions.

## II. HISTORY OF CANADA

### (1) General History

- ALLEN, ELEANOR WYLLYS. *The position of foreign states before national courts chiefly in Continental Europe*. New York: The Macmillan Company. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. xxii, 354. (\$5.25) To be reviewed later.
- COHEN, ZVI (ed.). *Canadian Jewry: Prominent Jews of Canada. A history of Canadian Jewry, especially of the present time through reviews and biographical sketches*. Toronto: Published by the Canadian Jewish Historical Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. 304. Reviewed on page 87.
- JANE, CECIL (trans. and ed.). *Select documents illustrating the four voyages of Columbus*. Vol. II: *The third and fourth voyages*. With a supplementary introduction by E. G. R. TAYLOR. (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. LXX.) London: Hakluyt Society. 1933. Pp. xc, 164. To be reviewed later.
- JEFFREY, E. S. *The responsibility of the Canadian medical profession in national defence* (Canadian defence quarterly, XI (1), Oct., 1933, 64-71).

- JONES, ROBERT L. *History of the foreign policy of the United States*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1933. Pp. ix, 536 (\$3.50). The writer has "undertaken to show the origin and trace the development of the general principles pursued by the United States in its more important relations with other countries". The chapter on the War of 1812 sets forth the diplomatic negotiations of those years in their wider aspects, with very little particular reference to Canada. Several pages are devoted to the *Alabama* claims, to the incident of the steamer *Caroline* and the trial of Alexander McLeod, to the dispute over the Maine-New Brunswick boundary, to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, etc. In spite of all this, however, Canada does not appear in the index.
- KARVE, D. G. *Federations: A study in comparative politics*. With a foreword by Sir J. A. R. MARRIOTT. Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. xv, 318. (\$1.35). To be reviewed later.
- MOORE, KATHLEEN and McEWEN, JESSIE. *A picture history of Canada*. Illustrated by famous artists. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. Pp. 103. (\$2.75). Forty-seven paintings beautifully reproduced in colour are the main point of interest in this admirable children's book. Each picture is accompanied by a short and very simply written story. This is a valuable addition to the illustrative books on Canadian history suitable for public schools.
- PRESTAGE, EDGAR. *The Portuguese pioneers*. (The pioneer histories edited by V. T. HARLOW and J. A. WILLIAMSON.) London: A and C. Black Ltd., 4, 5 and 6 Soho Square. 1933. Pp. xiv, 352. (15s.). The chapters which are of special interest to students of the history of this continent are those entitled "Westward exploration", and "North America, Brazil and the Orient". The volume is well printed, very well indexed, and contains several maps.
- THOMAS, LOWELL. *Rolling stone: The life and adventures of Arthur Radclyffe Dugmore*. London: John Long. 1933. Pp. 256. (16s.). Describes trips to northern Canada, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Labrador, where Major Dugmore painted and photographed. The book is beautifully illustrated.
- WILLIAMS, JNO. G. *Recording local history in pictures* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 117-20). A suggestion for local historical societies.
- WITKKE, CARL. *A history of Canada*. Revised edition. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1933. Pp. 443. (\$5.00). Professor Witkke's invaluable synthesis of Canadian history, first published in 1931, is brought up to date in this second edition. A new final chapter, "The new era and its problems", brings the history of Canada down to 1933, and deals with such current political and economic problems as the prosperity of 1928 and the ensuing depression, the Hawley-Smoot tariff, the Imperial Conference of 1930 and the Ottawa Conference of 1932, the Beauharnois project, railway organization, the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Treaty, the C.C.F., etc. New titles have been added to the bibliographies at the end of each chapter throughout the book, and the mistakes noted in our review of the first edition (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IX, 355) have been carefully corrected.
- (2) **New France**
- CHILD, PHILIP. *The village of souls*. London: Thornton Butterworth. 1933. Pp. 316. (\$2.00). A story of French Canada in 1665. Although the principal characters are fictitious, the author uses the well-known story of Father Marquette's death to describe the death of "Father Bernard", and his appreciation of Mme. de la Peltrie and Mère Marie de l'Incarnation is vivid and original. The book is one of the most skilful historical novels to come from the pen of a Canadian.
- Commissions du Chevalier Bégon* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 744-7). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- COUILLARD-DESPRÉS, L'Abbé. *Aux sources de l'histoire de l'Acadie* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 63-81). Further information about Charles de La Tour, Biencourt-Poutrincourt, the causes of the conflict between La Tour and d'Aulnay, etc.

- CROWE, WALTER. *Duc d'Anville buried at Louisbourg* (Some papers and records of the Cape Breton Historical Society, 1928-1932, no. 1, 1932, 40-51). The writer concludes that the body of the duc d'Anville lies unmarked in the chapel at Louisbourg.
- DAVID, ALBERT. *Le Judas de l'Acadie* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, III(4), oct.-déc., 1933, 492-513; IV(1), jan.-mars, 1934, 22-35). The story of Thomas Pichon, dit Tyrrell (1700-81).
- DIÈREVILLE, Sieur de. *Relation of the voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France*. Translated by Mrs. CLARENCE WEBSTER. Edited with notes and introduction by JOHN CLARENCE WEBSTER. (Publications of the Champlain Society, XX.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1933. Pp. xv, 324. To be reviewed later.
- Documents sur Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, le héros du Chien d'Or* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 754-9). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- EAST, ERNEST E. (comp.) *The inhabitants of three French villages at Peoria, Illinois*. Peoria: The Peoria Historical Press. (50 cents) Gives a directory for old Peoria, 1765-96, La Ville de Maillet, 1778-1812, and Trading House, after 1812.
- Entre Français et sauvages: Paroles des Iroquois, Loups et Chouanons venant du fort Duquesne (novembre 1760)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 689-91). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Etat des services de Joseph-Marie de la Venne Desperiers* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 760-1). Notes on the military career of Sr. Desperiers who served under Montcalm.
- La famille Jacquin dit Philibert* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 641-3).
- La famille Montenon de La Rue* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 714-5).
- GUENIN, G. *L'épopée coloniale de la France, racontée par les contemporains*. Paris: Larose. 1932. Pp. 388.
- HABIG, MARION A. *Eyewitness accounts of La Salle's expedition down the Mississippi in 1682* (Mid-America, XVI (3), n.s. V, Jan., 1934, 165-84). A description of the accounts of Father Membré, La Salle, Tonty, Jacques de la Metairie, and Nicolas de la Salle.
- LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *L'établissement du Marquis de la Roche à l'île de Sable* (Canadian Historical Association, report of annual meeting, 1933, 33-42). The story from contemporary documents of the attempt in 1598 to establish a colony on Sable Island.
- LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *Lahontan in Minnesota* (Minnesota history, XIV (4), Dec., 1933, 367-77). An abstract of an address delivered before the Minnesota Historical Society.
- LEFEBVRE, JEAN JACQUES. *Quelques précisions sur les Sanguinet de la Salle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 705-7).
- LE JEUNE, LOUIS. *Le chevalier Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville: Troisième campagne: Tentative contre Pemquid (1691-1692)* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, IV (1), jan.-mars, 1934, 36-48).
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *A propos de cheveux poudrés* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 708-10). A note on military social history in New France.
- Lanoraie avant 1675* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 661-4). Notes on a parish which lies on the Saint Lawrence between Three Rivers and Montreal.



MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Mémoire historique de Montréal*. (Reprinted from *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, troisième série, 1933, XXVII, 111-131). Ottawa: 1933. Valuable and useful lists of the seigneurs, military, civil, religious, and educational authorities, sisters of charity, artists, artisans, etc. of Montreal under the French régime.

— *Le notaire Fleuricour* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 702-4). Notes on Jean-Baptiste Fleuricour of Montreal in the seventeenth century.

MEGGLE, ARMAND. *Nos vieilles colonies d'Asie, d'Océanie et d'Amérique*. Paris: Société française d'éditions. 1931. Pp. 207.

ROBINSON, PERCY J. *The Toronto carrying-place* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 82-4). A summary of an address delivered to the society on the history of the Toronto carrying place.

— *Toronto during the French régime: A history of the Toronto region from Brûlé to Simcoe, 1615-1793*. Illustrated by C. W. JEFFERYS. (The Canadian historical studies edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1933. Pp. xx, 254. (\$8.00) Reviewed on page 72.

WEBSTER, J. CLARENCE. *Chignecto dry dock: An undescribed French dock-like structure on the La Coupe River* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, section II, XXVII, 1933, 87-95). With maps and plans.

— *The classics of Acadia* (Canadian Historical Association, report of annual meeting, 1933, 5-12). A discussion of the historians of Acadia from the arrival of De Monts in 1604 to the capture of Port Royal in 1710—i.e. the Jesuit missionaries, Champlain, Lescarbot, Denys, Le Clercq, and Dièreville.

WETHERELL, ALICE. *Fort Beauséjour* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (1), Jan., 1934, 3-15). A history of Fort Beauséjour on the Isthmus of Chignecto, prepared with the assistance of Dr. J. C. WEBSTER and illustrated from his invaluable collection of historical pictures.

### (3) British North America before 1867

*Arpentiers du Bas et Haut Canada, 1764-1867* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 723-38). An alphabetical list of land-surveyors.

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *Joseph-Bernard Planté: Etude historique et biographie* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 133-59). A biographical study of a political figure in Lower Canada who was a notary, deputy in the Legislative Assembly, journalist, and friend of Papineau.

— *Le pacte de famille du Bas-Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 739-41). An examination of the family relationships between the members of the first Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada (1792-6).

BUCHANAN, A. W. P. *Dr. Simon Fraser of Terrebonne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 720-2).

BURT, ALFRED LEROY. *The old Province of Quebec*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. xiii, 551. (\$6.00) To be reviewed later.

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN. *The correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the secretaries of state, and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775*. Volume two. (Yale historical publications, Manuscripts and edited texts, XII.) New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. vi, 735. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

CHARTIER, EMILE. *La vie de l'esprit au Canada français, 3e étude: L'éloquence parlementaire et les journaux (1792-1867)* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 49-61). The author shows the part taken after the conquest by French-Canadian parliamentary orators and newspapers in the winning of constitutional rights, ministerial responsibility, codification of the laws, etc.

- CREED, CATHERINE. *Notes on some municipal proceedings in the Niagara district, 1849-1870* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 160-70). Notes based on the *County Council proceedings*, a number of volumes of which has recently been acquired by the Niagara Historical Society, and on contemporary newspapers.
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The early life and letters of the Honourable Peter Russell* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 121-40). Letters dated 1755-92, relating Russell's part in the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, etc.
- *Post-war discontent at Niagara in 1818* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 14-46). An account in detail, with contemporary quotations, of grievances and events in the Niagara district.
- *Sir Gordon Drummond, K.C.B.* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 8-13). An address at the ceremony of unveiling a tablet in the Parliament Buildings, Toronto, Oct. 27, 1932.
- DUFOR, CLARENCE JOHN. *The Russian withdrawal from California* (Quarterly of the California Historical Society, XII (3), Sept., 1933, 240-76).
- DYER, BRAINERD. *The public career of William M. Evarts*. (Publications of the University of California at Los Angeles in Social Sciences, II.) Berkeley, Cal: University of California Press. 1933. Pp. 297. Evarts was closely connected with the Treaty of Washington and in particular with the Alabama claims, to which a chapter is devoted. Some pages also are devoted to the controversy over the north Atlantic coast fisheries.
- ELLS, MARGARET. *Clearing the decks for the Loyalists* (Canadian Historical Association, report of annual meeting, 1933, 43-58). The paper shows why, and to what extent the escheating of land was necessary in preparing for the settlement of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia.
- ESSIG, E. O. *The Russian settlement at Ross* (Quarterly of the California Historical Society, XII (3), Sept., 1933, 191-209).
- FULLER, BASIL. *The first white woman in the west* (Empire review, no. 395, Dec., 1933, 373-4). The story of Marie Gaboury, among the Indians and fur-traders of the west in the early eighteen hundreds.
- GARLAND, M. A. (ed.) *The Proudfoot papers* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 141-59). This extract, July 15-Dec. 31, 1835, from the diary of the Rev. William Proudfoot, gives interesting details of religious life, of difficulties of travel, wages paid for clearing the forest, etc.
- GATES, CHARLES M. (ed.) *Five fur traders of the northwest: Being the diaries of John Macdonell, Archibald N. McLeod, Hugh Faries, and Thomas Connor*. With an introduction by GRACE LEE NUTE. (Published for the Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. v, 298. (\$4.25) Reviewed on page 76.
- GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Birth place of the Royal Mounted* (Canadian magazine, Feb., 1934, 12, 47). A history of Lower Fort Garry.
- *Cradle of exploration: Fort Chipewyan, on Lake Athabasca, still stands, a monument to the courage and energy of the Nor' Westers* (Canadian magazine, Oct., 1933, 12, 39-40).
- *The law goes north* (Canadian magazine, Nov., 1933, 14, 30-2). The history of Fort Norman on the Mackenzie River.
- *Lost mines and lost men* (Canadian magazine, Dec., 1933, 12, 20, 22-3). The story of Fort Simpson.
- HARVEY, D. C. *Nova Scotia and the Convention of 1818* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVII, section 2, May, 1933, 57-73). A document which shows that Nova Scotia was the first of the British North American colonies to attempt to unite the colonies in the pursuit of a common imperial and foreign policy. It is the report of a joint committee of the Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia.

- HARVEY, D. C. *The struggle for the New England form of township government in Nova Scotia* (Canadian Historical Association, report of annual meeting, 1933, 15-22). A valuable paper on the origins of local government in Nova Scotia.
- How Loyalists left New York 150 years ago* (Loyalist gazette, III (3), Nov., 1933, 10, 12).
- HOWAY, F. W. *Brig Owhyhee in the Columbia, 1827* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIV (4), Dec., 1933, 324-9). Deals with the first visit to the Columbia River of the *Owhyhee* of Boston.
- *A list of trading vessels in the maritime fur trade, 1815-1819* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVII, section 2, May, 1933, 119-47). This is the fourth instalment of the list of vessels in the maritime fur-trade, 1785-1824. The story of each vessel is outlined and references are given to the materials relating to her.
- Interesting documents of the past: Black list: Early qualifications for voting in Pennsylvania* (Loyalist gazette, III (3), Nov. 1933, 6-7). A document of interest to the history of the United Empire Loyalists.
- JONES, C. C. *The U.E.L. settlement at Missisquoi Bay* (Loyalist gazette, III (3), Nov., 1933, 5).
- Journal of the commissioners for trade and plantations from January, 1754, to December, 1758, preserved in the Public Record Office.* London: H.M.S.O. 1933. Pp. 473. (32s. 6d.) The principal topics of this volume are the troubled affairs of Jamaica and the development of the conflict with France in North America.
- JUDAH, CHARLES BURNET. *The North American fisheries and British policy to 1713.* (Illinois studies in the social sciences, XVIII (3-4). University of Illinois bulletin, XXXI (1), Sept. 5, 1933.) Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois. 1933. Pp. 183. (\$1.50)
- LANDON, FRED. *Trial and punishment of the patriots captured at Windsor in December, 1838* (Michigan history magazine, XVIII (1), winter, 1934, 25-32). An account of the trials held in the court house in London, Ontario, and information concerning the prisoners.
- Une lettre de Benjamin Franklin à Thomas Cushing* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 742-3). Documents dated 1778 regarding the treaties between France and the United States. Transcribed from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Lettres de l'Abbé Pierre Gazelle à l'Honorable Louis de Salaberry (suite et fin)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 644-60). Letters dated London, 1798-1801.
- LOFT, FREDERICK ONONDEYAH. *Captain Joseph Brant, Loyalist: Thayendanege chief head and warrior of the six nations* (Loyalist gazette, III (3), Nov., 1933, 11-2).
- The march into Canada, from Ethan Allen's narrative* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (3), Jan., 1934, 130-7).
- MENG, JOHN J. *The place of Canada in French diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 665-87). The article concludes that the keynote of French policy towards Canada during the War for Independence was to force her outside the calculations of the Americans, to confine French help to the objects stated in the Treaty of Alliance, and to prevent allied defeat by forestalling undue dispersion of the military forces.
- Montgomery's attack on Quebec—A British description* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (3), Jan., 1934, 137-42).
- MULLETT, CHARLES F. *Fundamental law and the American Revolution, 1760-1776.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. 216. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

- Muster list of the transport Cyrus, New York to St. John River, August 21 to Sept. 14, 1783; Loyalist list no. 3* (Loyalist gazette, III (3), Nov., 1933, 7-8).
- OGDEN, ADELE. *Russian sea-otter and seal hunting on the California coast, 1803-1841* (Quarterly of the California Historical Society, XII (3), Sept., 1933, 217-39).
- PEYSTER, HENRY de. *Une famille de financiers huguenots: (De Payster), 1280-1930* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, avril-juin, 1933). Major de Peyster was in charge of Detroit, 1779-84.
- REED, HENRY E. *William Johnson* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIV (4), Dec., 1933, 314-23). Facts concerning a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company who was the first white permanent settler on the site of Portland, Oregon.
- RICHARD MONTGOMERY (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (3), Jan., 1934, 127-9). A brief résumé of Montgomery's career, including his expedition against Canada.
- RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *A Loyalist and his land in Massachusetts: The tragedy enacted when the torch of war is thrust between neighbors* (Loyalist gazette, III (3), Nov., 1933, 3, 9-10). The story of Nathaniel Ray Thomas.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *A Negro slave in Detroit when Detroit was Canadian* (Michigan history magazine, XVIII (1), winter, 1934, 48-52). Documents which throw some light on the situation as to slavery in 1795, in Canada.
- SMITH, Professor. *War guilt in 1812* (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LXIV, Oct., 1930-June, 1932). An exoneration of President Madison from the Federalist charge of a corrupt bargain for the renomination. The author shows that the president was committed to a policy of war before the conference with the War Hawks.
- STAUF, MARGARET. *John Dougherty, Indian agent* (Mid-America, XVI (3), n.s. V, Jan., 1934, 135-46). A detailed account of an American fur-trader and Indian agent, 1791-1860.
- [THOMPSON, JAMES.] *General Richard Montgomery—his sword, etc.* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (3), Jan., 1934, 142-50). An account of Montgomery's death and a description of his sword "as related by Mr. James Thompson, overseer of works for the garrison of Quebec, who, from his public situation, had a particular knowledge of the circumstances". Extract from Hawkins's *New historical picture of Quebec*, published in 1834.
- THOMSON, MARK A. *The secretaries of state 1681-1782*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1932. Pp. 206. (\$3.25) This volume contains a great deal of information on the machinery and personnel of the administration in eighteenth-century England. The discussion of colonial administration is useful as a background of Canadian history after the conquest.
- [TRUMBULL, JOHN.] *The deputy adjutant general's orderly book* (cont.) (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (3), Jan., 1934, 151-61). Covers the dates November 1-19, 1776.
- VAN DEUSEN, JOHN G. *Detroit campaign of Gen. William Hull* (Quarterly bulletin of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, July, 1933).
- WEBSTER, JOHN CLARENCE. *The life of Joseph Frederick Walle DesBarres*. Shediac, N.B.: Privately printed. 1933. Pp. 70. Investigations into the career of Des Barres, including the period of his active service until the peace of 1763, his employment by the Admiralty in surveying the eastern coast of Canada, 1764-74, his engagement in London in preparing and publishing his charts, views, and surveys in the eighteenth-century Admiralty publication, the *Atlantic Neptune*, his governorship of Cape Breton and of Prince Edward Island, and his last years of unofficial life in Nova Scotia. The only two portraits of DesBarres yet discovered are reproduced in colour.

(4) **The Dominion of Canada**

BRADY, ALEXANDER. *Public administration and social services (Canadian problems, Oxford Press, 1933, 37-47)*. Professor Brady takes stock of Canadian institutions, pointing out their weaknesses, and suggesting remedies.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR: NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH.] *Preserving Canada's historic past* (Canadian Historical Association, report of annual meeting, 1933, 75-9). A summary of the year's work of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

[CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.] *Report of the annual meeting held at Ottawa, May 22 and 23, 1933. With historical papers*. Ottawa: Progressive Printers. 1933. Pp. 87. The historical papers are listed separately in this bibliography.

*Canadian problems as seen by twenty outstanding men of Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. 320. (\$2.00) Reviewed on page 68. The papers relating to Canadian history are listed separately in this bibliography.

CORBETT, P. E. *A foreign policy for Canada (The Liberal way, Toronto, Dent, 1933, 129-50)*. A paper and report of round-table discussion at the Liberal summer conference, Sept., 1933.

*Federal-provincial relations: A round table discussion (The Liberal way, Toronto, Dent, 1933, 113-9)*. The chairman, N. McL. ROGERS, lays stress on the perplexing problem of dominion-provincial finance.

*Financial problems of our federal system* (Queen's quarterly, XXXL (4), winter, 1933, 580-98). The Department of Political Science at Queen's University discusses the problems of federal finance and suggests reforms.

GORDON, WILHELMINA. *Archibald MacMechan* (Queen's quarterly, XXXL (4), winter, 1933, 635-40). An appreciation of the late Dr. MacMechan.

HANKIN, FRANCIS and MACDERMOT, T. W. L. *Recovery by control: A diagnosis and analysis of the relations between business and government in Canada*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1933. Pp. ix, 360. (\$2.00) Reviewed on page 68.

*The Liberal way: A record of opinion on Canadian problems as expressed and discussed at the first Liberal summer conference, Port Hope, September, 1933*. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1933. Pp. x, 294. (\$1.00) Reviewed on page 68. The papers relating to Canadian history are listed separately in this bibliography.

MCA., D. *The Canadian political scene* (Queen's quarterly, XXXL (4), winter, 1933, 641-6). An outline of current political events.

———. *Problems of federal government* (Queen's quarterly, XXXL (4), winter, 1933, 647-51). A brief résumé of some current political problems.

MACAULAY, LEOPOLD. *History and aims of the Conservative party (Canadian problems, Oxford Press, 1933, 189-200)*.

MACDERMOT, T. W. L. *The significance for Canada of the American "new deal" (The Liberal way, Toronto, Dent, 1933, 185-96)*. Professor MacDermot stresses the importance and applicability of the American experiment to Canada.

MACKENZIE, N. A. M. *Canada and the Far East (The Liberal way, Toronto, Dent, 1933, 197-206)*. A consideration of the general principles of Canadian foreign policy and of the situation in the Far East in relation to Canada.

———. *The federal problem and the British North America Act (Canadian problems, Oxford Press, 1933, 247-57)*.

MAXWELL, J. A. *The dispute over the federal domain in Canada* (Journal of political economy, XLI (6), Dec., 1933, 777-805). An examination of the question of land subsidies and natural resources in the Canadian west.

MOORE, WILLIAM HENRY. *The definite national purpose*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. xv, 161. (\$1.00) Proposals for the reconstruction of Canada's national life, and for the lifting of the great depression.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM R. *Criminal procedure in Canada* (United States law review, Sept., 1933).

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *So this is Ottawa*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. xii, 222. (\$2.50) Mr. Roberts's view is that "we [in Canada] have not been as well served as we had a right to expect by our political leaders . . . in recent years", and that "it may be a source of amusement to endeavour to determine just what our statesmen have been doing about our problems lately". With this avowed purpose in view and in a vein of light satire, he makes an examination of Canadian politics and politicians from the days of the war down to the Ottawa Conference, giving swift passing pictures of various political personalities, making ironical comments on the railway muddle, on the present deluge of conferences, on the Beauharnois scandal, and throwing rather lurid sidelights on election campaigns and electioneering practices.

ROSS, COLIN. *Das französische Kanada* (Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, Aug., 1933, 469-79).

———. *Kanadas Zukunft* (Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, Nov., 1933, 652-63). The writer endeavours to give the historical background of the French-Canadians, but fails because his knowledge of Canadian history is inadequate. In dealing with Canada's future, he makes the mistake of overrating the number of non-British and non-French inhabitants (LOUIS HAMILTON).

ROZ, FIRMIN. *Psychologie du peuple canadien* (Revue des deux mondes, 1 nov., 1933, 56-72). An interesting analysis under the headings: "Canadiens-français et canadiens-anglais", "Le miracle canadien", "La Confédération canadienne et les populations de l'ouest", "L'élément américain", "La conscience nationale".

SAINT-DENIS, Rev. Father HENRI. *The contribution of the French Canadian to federal unity* (*Canadian problems*, Oxford Press, 1933, 259-77). Illustrations of the contribution made by French Canadians to the unity and greatness of Canada.

STANLEY, CARLETON. *Change or decay?* (Dalhousie review, XIII (4), Jan., 1934, 427-33). A stock-taking, with special reference to Canada, of "what elements of our society" we consider "worthy of preservation".

TASCHEREAU, LOUIS ALEXANDRE. *Où allons-nous?* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, IV (1), jan.-mars, 1934, 8, 21). A discussion of Canada's course since Confederation and whither it is leading, to a continuation of her present status in the British Empire, to independence, or to annexation with the United States.

UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *The political ideas of John S. Ewart* (Canadian Historical Association, report of annual meeting, 1933, 23-32). A critical analysis of the character and development of the late Mr. Ewart's political ideas.

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

[CAPE BRETON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Some papers and records of the society, 1928-1932*. No. 1. North Sydney, N.S.: M. A. McInnis, printer. 1932. Pp. 51.

MAXWELL, Mrs. LILIAN. *History of central New Brunswick* (Daily gleaner, Oct. 20, 1933, 6). The first instalment of a series of historical articles on Fredericton and vicinity which appeared in the Fredericton Daily gleaner.

PACIFIQUE, Rev. Father R. P. *The early history of St. Anne's, Cape Breton* (Some papers and records of the Cape Breton Historical Society, 1928-1932, no. 1, 1932, 30-9). An address delivered at St. Anne's, on August 25, 1930, on the occasion of the unveiling of a cairn with tablet under the auspices of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board.

ROGERS, NORMAN McL. *Nova Scotia's premier* (Saturday night, Sept. 9, 1933, 8). Some account of the provincial election in Nova Scotia of August, 1933, and of Angus L. Macdonald, the new premier.

SMITH, Ven. Archdeacon. *The first seventy years of St. George's Parish* (Some papers and records of the Cape Breton Historical Society, 1928-1932, no. 1, 1932, 7-29). Gleanings from the parish records, 1784-1854.

## (2) The Province of Quebec

ADAIR, E. R. and WARDLEWORTH, ELEANOR S. *The Parish and Church of L'Acadie* (Canadian Historical Association, report of annual meeting, 1933, 59-73). A history of the Parish of L'Acadie in Quebec, which demonstrates "the way in which the history of a parish may be viewed from the standpoint of its church, and the unity of interest and development which this standpoint can assure".

AUCLAIR, ELIE J. *Saint-Polycarpe de Soulanges* (Mémoires de la Société Royal du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 161-83). An historical study of a Quebec parish.

DESILETS, AUGUSTE. *La Grand'Mère*. Première partie. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 10.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 65. A history of the beginnings and the development of the town of Grand'Mère, on the Saint Maurice River about fifty-eight miles north of Three Rivers, and an account of the pulp and paper industry of the district.

*Inventaire des registres de l'état-civil déposés au palais de justice des Trois-Rivières* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 192-4).

MEREDITH, BRIAN. *A seigniory on the Ottawa* (Canadian geographical journal, VII (5), Nov., 1933, 221-33). An historical sketch of the Seigniory of the Petite Nation on the north shore of the Ottawa River, and description of Montebello and the Seigniory Club.

*Le nom Limoïlou* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 695-6). Research into the origin of the name of a populous section of the city of Quebec.

*Notes historiques sur la Paroisse de Château-Richer* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 716-9).

## (3) The Province of Ontario

CAMPBELL, Mrs. WILLIAM. *Some downtown Toronto churches in the old days* (Report of the York Pioneer and Historical Society for 1932, 9-11).

GÉRIN, LÉON. *Cataracoui, Fort-Frontenac, Kingston: Trois stades de notre évolution sociale* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 193-214). A study of three successive aspects of Canadian social history.

[ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Papers and records*, vol. 29. Toronto: Published by the society. 1933. Pp. 195. (\$2.00) The papers printed herein are listed separately in this bibliography.

REIVE, W. G. *Cemeteries and graves in the Niagara district* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 76-81).

SLATER, PATRICK. *The yellow briar*. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1933. (\$2.00) A novel in the form of an autobiography of an Irish immigrant who came to Canada in 1847 and spent his life on a farm in Mono, Peel County, Ontario. Contains reminiscences of Ontario, and of Toronto, during the last century.

SYMONS, ROSE KATE THORBURN. *The Brock monuments and a visitors' book, 1829 and 1830* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 72-5). The story of the two Brock monuments on Queenston Heights, and some of the names from the visitors' book of 1829 and 1830.



TEMPLIN, HUGH. *Fergus: The story of a little town.* Fergus: Fergus News-Record. 1933. Pp. 311. (\$2.40) Reviewed on page 80.

STOUFFER, DAVID. *Stouffville and its pioneers* (Report of the York Pioneer and Historical Society for 1932, 11-5). Reminiscences of early days in the village of Stouffville, situated about thirty miles north-east of Toronto.

WILCOX, VIVIAN. *Historic Yonge Street* (Report of the York Pioneer and Historical Society for 1932, 16-7). A prize essay which relates tales of pioneer life on Yonge Street.

WRIGHT, A. W. *Now and then: Pioneer journalism in the County of Wellington.* (Prepared for the Ontario Historical Society.) Mount Forest: The author. 1933. Pp. 25. This useful little pamphlet is based on a paper read before the Ontario Historical Society at its annual meeting in June, 1933. It begins with a general survey and then gives a concise history of newspapers of the various municipalities which have at one time or another been included in Wellington County, i.e., Guelph, Fergus, Elora, Drayton, Palmerston, Clifford, Mount Forest, Arthur, Grand Valley, Orangeville, Erin, and Hillsburg.

(ed.). *Pioneer days in Nichol.* Second edition. Mount Forest, Ontario. 1932. Pp. 313. (\$2.50) The first edition of this work was published in 1924, being an attempt to preserve in printed form some of the earlier records of the Township of Nichol and the names and memories of many of the pioneers and their immediate successors. This second edition is revised, the material is re-arranged and extended, and several chapters dealing with north-east Nichol are added. There are numerous illustrations and a very complete index. Works of this kind, which throw first-hand light on local pioneer life on farms, in families, in schools, and in churches are very valuable to the student of the social history of the province and of the dominion as a whole.

[YORK PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TORONTO.] *Report for the year 1932.* 1933. Pp. 40.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

[CANADA: GEOGRAPHIC BOARD.] *Place-names of Manitoba.* (Published for the Geographic Board by the Department of the Interior.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1933. Pp. 95. A selected list embodying the principal place-names of Manitoba with, so far as possible, their meaning and origin. It includes all cities, towns, villages, and municipalities, all post offices and railway stations, and the names of many of the rivers and lakes as well as the names of fur-trading posts.

PRUD'HOMME, L. A. *L'élément français au Nord-ouest et son action bienfaisante* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 185-91). An assessment of the services rendered by the French-Canadian clergy and laity in the development and civilization of the western prairies, and of their missionary work among the Indians.

THOMSON, D. WALTER. *Frank Oliver's west* (Saturday night, May 13, 1933, 10). The story of the founding and growth of the *Edmonton bulletin*.

#### (5) British Columbia

CAUGHEY, JOHN WALTON. *History of the Pacific coast.* Los Angeles: Privately published by the author, 405 Hilgard, Los Angeles. 1933. Pp. x, 429.

#### (6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

DAVIS, MARY LEE. *Sourdough gold: The log of a Yukon adventure.* Boston: W. A. Wilde and Co. 1933. Pp. 351. (\$3.00) The true account of a physician who took part in the gold rush of '98.

GRENFELL, SIR WILFRED. *The problems of Labrador* (Canadian geographical journal, VII (5), Nov., 1933, 201-12).

INGSTAD, HELGE. *The land of feast and famine*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. 332. (\$4.00) The author spent four years east of Great Slave Lake making expeditions into the "Barrens", and this is a record of his life in the north with fur-trappers and a nomad Indian band. His observations on the caribou and caribou-hunting are especially good.

SCOTT, J. M. *The land that God gave Cain: An account of H. G. Watkins' expedition to Labrador, 1928-1929*. London: Chatto and Windus. 1933. Pp. viii, 282. (12s. 6d.) A vivid account of travelling in Labrador which gives a clear impression of the country.

#### IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

##### (1) General

BENNETT, H. ARNOLD. *The mystery of the Iowa buffalo* (Iowa journal of history and politics, XXXII (1), Jan., 1934, 60-73). Theories of the existence and disappearance of the buffalo in Iowa.

INNIS, HAROLD A. *Interrelations between the fur trade of Canada and the United States* (Mississippi valley historical review, XX (3), Dec., 1933, 321-32). A valuable survey of the interrelations between the significant and continuous development of the Canadian fur-trade and the more diverse and transient events of the American trade.

JENNESS, D. *Canada's fisheries and fishery population* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVII, section 2, May, 1933, 41-6). An estimate of the possible expansion of the industry and the maximum population to which it can offer lucrative employment.

MCARTHUR, DUNCAN. *Canada's divided loyalty* (Current history, Nov., 1933, 166-72). A discussion of the division of Canada's economic allegiance between the British imperial system and the American continental system, as illustrated by recent economic events.

*Mémoire touchant le commerce de Canada aux Isles Antilles Françaises de l'Amérique* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (12), déc., 1933, 748-53). From the Archives des Colonies, Paris, C11 AB.

MINVILLE, ESDRAS. *L'oeuvre de la colonisation* (Actualité économique, 9e année, no. 8, nov., 1933, 333-49). A careful, detailed discussion of colonization as a remedy for existing economic problems in Canada.

*Le premier moulin à coton au Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 699-700). A note on the first cotton mill in Canada built at Sherbrooke, P.Q., in 1844.

OLIVER, EDMUND H. *Economic conditions in Saskatchewan, 1870-1881* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVII, section 2, May, 1933, 15-39). An article dealing with the administration of the Territories, the situation in 1870, the disappearance of the buffalo, the growth of settlement, the mail, agricultural advance, trade, and prices, etc.

*Trade, tariffs and preferences: A round table discussion* (The Liberal way, Toronto, Dent, 1933, 151-8). A résumé of the discussion based on a paper given at the Liberal summer conference on Canada's foreign trade and the Ottawa trade agreements.

##### (2) Agriculture

LONDON, FRED. *Some effects of the American Civil War on Canadian agriculture* (Reprinted from Agricultural history, VII (4), Oct., 1933, 163-9). A paper presented at the session of the Agricultural History Society with the American Historical Association at Toronto, December, 1932.

MacGIBBON, D. A. *The wheat problem* (University of Toronto quarterly, III (2), Jan., 1934, 228-44). Makes clear the theories implicit in the solutions that are advocated or are being attempted, and indicates the bearing of the world-wide situation upon Canada and the Canadian wheat-grower.

### (3) Communications

FAYLE, C. ERNEST. *A short history of the world's shipping industry*. With a foreword by Sir ALAN G. ANDERSON. London: George Allen and Unwin. Toronto: Thos. Nelson and Sons. 1933. Pp. 320. (\$3.75) This is a work which collects in one volume information with regard to the shipping industry. The writer tells in broad outline the story of shipping as a business, describing in each period, merchant ships, their operation, routes, and cargoes. Of particular interest to students of Canadian history are the chapters dealing with the opening of the ocean routes, the merchant adventurers, and the era of the Navigation Acts. We notice, however, in the pages which deal with the beginnings of steam navigation no reference to the *Royal William* which was the first ship to cross the Atlantic under steam all the way. Of value are the select bibliographies at the end of each chapter. The illustrations, taken from originals in the Macpherson Collection of the National Maritime Museum, are exceptionally good.

HARBESON, R. W. *Transportation developments and the north Atlantic ports* (Harvard business review, XII (1), Oct., 1933, 82-93). A review and analysis of certain prospective transportation developments, including the St. Lawrence waterway, the Welland Canal, and the Oswego gateway, which promise to affect the relative economic position of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston.

JACKMAN, W. T. and BUCHANAN, D. W. *Our transportation problem* (Canadian problems, Oxford Press, 1933, 91-116). A paper given before the Liberal-Conservative summer school, 1933.

MANION, R. J. *A view of Canada's railway problems* (Canadian problems, Oxford Press, 1933, 153-64). A paper delivered before the Liberal-Conservative summer school, 1933.

MORGAN, H. R. *The first Tay Canal* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 103-16). An account of an abortive Upper Canadian transportation enterprise of a century ago.

*The new St. Lawrence waterway of Canada* (Discovery, XIV (164), Aug., 1933, 242-6).

PHILLIP, FRED H. *Steamboat a-comin'* (Canadian magazine, Jan., 1934, 6, 18). A history of shipping on the St. John River.

TALMAN, JAMES J. *Travel in Ontario before the coming of the railway* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 85-102). A paper dealing with tourist travel in Upper Canada in the period before 1850 when travel by stage coach reached its peak.

### (4) Immigration and Emigration

ANGUS, H. F. *Canadian immigration: The law and its administration* (American journal of international law, XXVIII (1), Jan., 1934, 74-89).

MARTIN, ERNEST. *Le français des Canadiens est-il un patois?* (Canada français, XXI (3), nov., 1933, 249-62; (4), déc., 1933, 360-71; (5), jan., 1934, 455-68). The November instalment contains tables showing the numbers and origins of French immigrants who arrived in Canada from 1608-1700; the other instalments throw light on French emigration to Canada.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *L'émigration aux Etats-Unis, il y a 40 ans et plus* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (11), nov., 1933, 697; (12), déc., 711-2). Lists of emigrants from Saint Jacques and Saint Tite Parishes, Champlain County, Quebec.

**(5) Geography**

*An exhibition of maps engraved within the present limits of the United States mostly prior to 1800.* Ann Arbor: The William L. Clements Library. 1933. Pp. 15. Of special interest to Canadians are James Turner's map of Nova Scotia and the "map of the Lake Champlain district contemporary with the campaign of 1775-6 to conquer Canada".

FAWCETT, C. B. *A political geography of the British Empire.* London: University of London Press. 1933. Pp. xiv, 410. (18s.) The author stresses the distribution of population, the reserves of natural resources, and the present racial compositions of the peoples. The last chapter on world relations raises the problem of the future foreign policy of Great Britain.

GANONG, W. F. *Crucial maps in the early cartography and place-nomenclature of the Atlantic coast of Canada, V* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVII, section 2, May, 1933, 149-95). This paper discusses the wealth of highly formalized composite maps which filled the gap between those of the great exploratory voyages, ending in 1525, and the inauguration of the modern cartography by Champlain in 1604.

**V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY**

BOVEY, WILFRID. *Le rôle des universités canadiennes françaises en Amérique du Nord* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 19ème année, no 76, déc., 1933, 341-52). A consideration of the influences, direct and indirect, which the French-Canadian universities can have on the civilization and culture of the North American Continent.

CASWELL, N. F. *The little red schoolhouse* (Report of the York Pioneer and Historical Society for 1932, 18-9). Reminiscences of forty or fifty years ago.

FALCONER, SIR ROBERT. *The Gilchrist scholarships—an episode in the higher education of Canada* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVII, section 2, May, 1933, 5-13). Gives the objects of the scholarships, the names of the scholars, and an estimate of the results.

*The University of Toronto* (Municipal review of Canada, XXIX (11), Nov., 1933, 7-10; XXX (1), Jan., 1934, 7-10). A history of its beginnings and development.

**VI. RELIGIOUS HISTORY**

ALLAIRE, J. B. A. *Un curé canadien à la fin du XIXe siècle ou l'Abbé Israël Courtemanche.* Montréal: Imprimerie de la Salle. 1933. Pp. 348.

CARON, IVANHOË. *La nomination de Mgr Joseph-Octave Plessis, évêque de Québec, au Conseil législatif de Québec* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, section 1, série iii, XXVII, mai, 1933, 1-32). A study of the negotiations which took place between the British government and the local government at the time of the nomination of the Catholic bishop of Quebec to the Legislative Council in 1818, and of the long discussions which followed with Rome.

CLARK, A. J. *Two rare translations into the Mohawk language* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 1-7). An outline of the history of the New England Company (for the propagation of the Gospel), and a brief sketch of events leading up to its publication of a collection of Psalms and Hymns in 1839 and of the Book of Common Prayer in 1842.

FRANCIS d'ASSISI, Sr. *How Nova Scotia emancipated Catholics* (Thought, VIII (3), Dec., 1933, 383-95). The writer examines the history of Nova Scotia up to 1758 insofar as it gave evidence of the presence of a religious factor, and traces the later history of the penal legislation of 1758.

GOYAU, GEORGES. *Les origines de la Société des Missions Etrangères* (Revue de Paris, 15 mars, 1932).

- HOLAND, H. R. *St. Michael, the first mission of the west* (Mid-America, XVI (3), n.s. V, Jan., 1934, 157-64). An attempt to determine the precise location of the Indian village which was the goal of the Jesuit missionaries of Quebec.
- KINIERY, PAUL. *Efforts made by religious groups to maintain peace in early New York* (Catholic historical review, XIX (4), Jan., 1934, 407-26). An account of the activities of the various religious organizations which tended to promote or disrupt peace in New York between 1623 and 1763. Contains information about the activities of Isaac Jogues.
- MCNAB, JOHN. *They went forth*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1933. Pp. xi, 207. (\$1.50) A series of graphic sketches of the lives of certain missionaries of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. A record of several centuries of missionary work in Canada is contained in the stories of such men as James McGregor, religious *coureur de bois* of Nova Scotia; John Black, pioneer of the prairies; James Nisbet, missionary to the Indians; James Robertson of the church in western Canada; and W. J. McKenzie, early worker in Labrador.
- MORAND, EDMOND. *Le culte de Saint-Amable en Canada* (Bulletin paroissial de Saint-Amable. Imprimerie du Courrier du Puy-de-Dôme, Riom, June, 1931). Brief note concerning an altar to St. Amable in Montreal, in 1731.
- Les noces d'or sacerdotales de Mgr Louis-Adolphe Pâquet, P.A., V.G.H., doyen de la Faculté de Théologie à l'Université Laval*. Québec: Des ateliers de l'Action Catholique. 1933. Pp. 331. This volume forms a life of a well-known and highly esteemed Canadian priest, Mgr Louis Adolphe Pâquet.
- O'BREADY, MAURICE. *La première messe à Sherbrooke*. (Contribution de la Société historique des Cantons de l'Est.) Sherbrooke: Le Messager de St-Michel. 1933. Pp. 29. A careful inquiry which established the place and circumstances of the celebration of the first mass in the Eastern Townships, at the home of Madame Felton, by Messire Jean Raimbault of Nicolet.
- POURRAT, P. *Jean Jacques Olier, fondateur de Saint-Sulpice*. Paris: Marcel Rivière. Pp. 334. Olier was one of the most active members of the group responsible for the founding of Montreal.
- ROURE, LUCIEN. *Une grande mystique tourangelle: La Vénérable Marie de l'Incarnation* (Études, Revue Catholique d'intérêt général, 5 janv. 1931)
- SHEARER, DONALD. *Pontificia Americana: A documentary history of the Catholic Church in the United States (1784-1884)*. (Franciscan studies, no. 11, June, 1933.) New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc. 1933. Pp. xi, 413. (\$1.25) A presentation in chronological form of all papal documents bearing upon the progress of Catholicism in the United States from 1784-1884. The documents belonging to the years immediately following the Revolution have a certain interest for students of the ecclesiastical history of Canada. There is, in particular, information about the Rev. John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore.
- TALBOT, FRANCIS X. *The torture trail* (Historical records and studies of the United States Historical Society, XXIII). An account of Father Jogues's journey from Three Rivers to Auriesville, Aug. 1-14, 1642.
- TESTORE, CELESTINO. *I Santi Martiri Canado-Americani della Compagnia di Gesù*. Soc. Tip. A. Maciocco & Pisani—Isola del Liri. 1930. Pp. xii, 391. (L. 14)
- YOUNG, A. H. *More Langhorn letters* (Ontario Historical Society, Papers and records, XXIX, 1933, 47-71). Letters found in the S.P.G. Archives in London, of the Rev. John Langhorn, Church of England missionary at Fredericksburgh and Ernestown, 1787-1813.

## VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Bibliography relating to the Russians in California* (Quarterly of the California Historical Society, XII (3), Sept., 1933, 210-6).

- COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST and ROBERT GRANNISS. *A bibliography of the history of California, 1510-1930*. Three volumes. San Francisco: John Henry Nash. 1933. (\$35.00) Although confined entirely to California, this bibliography is of interest to students of the Pacific coast.
- DUDON, PAUL. *A la Bibliothèque Nationale: Les Frances lointaines d'avant la Révolution* (Études, Revue Catholique d'intérêt général, 5 mai, 1931).
- GOWER, R. H. G. LEVESON. *The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Beaver, outfit 264, no 3, Dec., 1933, 40-2, 64). See page 92.
- LEMAY, HUGOLIN. *Bibliographie des travaux édités ou imprimés en Europe sur les Récollets du Canada* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 87-109). An annotated list containing more than a hundred titles, some of which are very rare.
- STEWART, SHEILA I. *A catalogue of the Akins collection of books and pamphlets*. Compiled under the direction of D. C. HARVEY. (Publications of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, no. 1.) Halifax: Imperial Publishing Co. 1933. Pp. 206. When Dr. Thomas Beamish Akins, Commissioner of Public Records for Nova Scotia, died in 1891, he left his valuable collection of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, most of which related principally to British North America, in trust for the use and benefit of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. In 1907 accommodation was provided for the collection by the government of Nova Scotia, a card catalogue was prepared, and two years later, the Akins Library was made available for reference. In 1931 the collection was transferred to the new Public Archives Building of Nova Scotia and this catalogue of the historical books and pamphlets in the collection has now been published by the Archives of Nova Scotia. Full bibliographical information and a clear and complete table of contents are provided. The catalogue, containing as it does the titles of many rare and valuable books, of nineteenth-century handbooks, directories, periodicals, publications of societies, etc., will be of great value to students of the history of British North America.
- Western history: A check list of recent items relating to California and the west* (Quarterly of the California Historical Society, XII (4), Dec., 1933, 358-63).
- VIII. ART AND LITERATURE**
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Le dernier de nos grands artisans, Louis Jobin* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, XXVII, section 1, mai, 1933, 33-48). Jobin, sculptor and wood-carver, was the last of the great craftsmen who carried on in Canada the old French tradition of sculpture.
- *Two centuries of wood carving in French Canada* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVII, section 2, May, 1933, 1-4). The traditions of the French Renaissance in wood-carving, embroidery, and architecture have grown into a distinctive Canadian school, and two centuries of their existence are reviewed. Several plates are included.
- BURFEE, L. J. *New light on Drummond of the "Habitant"* (Saturday night, July 1, 1933, 6).
- MARTIN, ERNEST. *Lecture sur la survivance de la langue française au Canada* (Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 4e trimestre, 1932).
- MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. *Les vitraux d'histoire de Notre-Dame de Montréal* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, III (4), oct.-déc., 1933, 461-91). A descriptive history of the windows of Notre-Dame de Montréal.
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. *La peinture en Nouvelle-France* (Canada français, XXI (3), nov., 1933, 209-26). A descriptive and critical account of the paintings at Sainte Anne de Beaupré.
- Nos auteurs dramatiques: Leurs noms et leurs oeuvres* (Canada français, XXI (3), nov., 1933, 237-43). Lists by MM. G. H. ROBERT and P. E. SENAY, giving dates of presentation. These lists complete the table of dramatists made by M. GEORGES BELLERIVE, in *Canada français* of April, 1933.

ROQUEBRUNE, R. de. *La littérature canadienne-française* (Revue des deux mondes, 1 déc., 1933, 631-52). "C'est un des mieux informés parmi les écrivains du Canada qui, dans un brillant exposé, évoque ici, pour les lecteurs du 'vieux pays', le mouvement littéraire canadien-français d'hier et d'aujourd'hui."

## IX. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHÆOLOGY

(Contributed by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

BAILEY, ALFRED GOLDSWORTHY. *The significance of the identity and disappearance of the Laurentian Iroquois* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, section 2, series 3, XXVII, May, 1933, 97-107). The author believes that the inhabitants of the St. Lawrence valley at the time of Cartier were Mohawk and Onondaga, and that the hostility of the Iroquois to the French dates from that time. These tribes were later forced southward, perhaps by pressure from the eastern Algonkians who had the advantage of European materials, and it was their residence in contiguous areas in northern New York which made possible the development of the League of the Iroquois.

BAY-SCHMIDT, E. *Blutgruppenbestimmung bei Eskimos* (Acta pathologica et microbiologica scandinavica, Copenhagen, VII (1-2), 1930, 107-16).

BERNARD, JOSEPH. *Les Esquimaux de l'Arctique* (Bulletin de la Société de géographie commerciale du Havre, 1929, 9-18).

BLUMENSOHN, JULES. *The fast among North American Indians* (American anthropologist, XXXV (3), July-Sept., 1933, 451-69). While fasting was a characteristic feature of the religious rituals of many Indian tribes, a detailed analysis shows that its form and function varied in different parts of the continent; among the Central Algonkians it served to bring the suppliant into a close personal relation with the supernatural.

BOAS, FRANZ. *Bella Bella tales*. (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, XXV.) New York: The American Folk-Lore Society. 1932. Pp. xiii, 178. The Bella Bella are a coastal tribe of British Columbia, linguistically closely related both to the Kwakiutl and to the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and culturally closely akin to both of these groups as well as to their Salish-speaking neighbours, the Bella Coola. Their folk-lore is of the usual west-coast type, strongly influenced by the tribes with which they have been in contact. In addition to the legends themselves, this volume includes an important introduction in which the author discusses the value of folk-lore.

BONNERJEA, BIREN (comp.). *General index annual reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, vols. 1 to 48 (1879 to 1931)*. [Washington, D.C., 1881-1933.] (Forty-eighth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930-31 (issued 1933), 25-1220). Since 1879 the Bureau of American Ethnology has been issuing voluminous annual reports which are among the most important sources of information for students of the American Indian. The very bulk of this material has made it difficult to utilize to the best advantage and the compilation of an index is a welcome aid to the student. The subject index alone comprises more than 1000 pages, and to this has been added a list of the contents of each annual report, together with an alphabetical table of titles and authors.

CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.] *Annual report for the year ended March 31, 1933*. Ottawa: 1933. Pp. 58. The annual departmental report upon the Indians of Canada records general observations on matters of health, economic conditions and welfare, together with amendments to laws concerning reserves, and statistical information as to population, school attendance, religion, and kindred matters.

CLEMENTS, FORREST E. *Primitive concepts of disease* (University of California publications in American archaeology and ethnology, XXXII (2), 1932, 185-252). Dividing the causes of disease into five categories—sorcery, breach of taboo, disease-object intrusion, spirit intrusion, and soul loss—the author gives the world distribution of each type, followed by a theoretical discussion of its significance.



- COBB, W. MONTAGUE. *Human materials in American institutions available for anthropological study* (American journal of physical anthropology, XVII (4), supplement, April-June, 1933, pp. iv, 45). This is an exhaustive catalogue of the somatological material available in North American institutions including skeletal and body remains, casts, photographs, records, etc. About sixty per cent. of the entries pertain to the American Indian.
- COLLINS, HENRY B., Jr. *Archeological investigations at Point Barrow, Alaska* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1932: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 323), 1933, 45-8). Careful archaeological investigations near Point Barrow throw light on Eskimo cultural development in Alaska, with suggestions of further significance elsewhere in the Arctic.
- COOPER, JOHN M. *The Cree witiko psychosis* (Primitive man, VI (1), Jan., 1933, 20-4). A curious form of hysteria among the Cree is a craving for human flesh, combined with a belief on the sufferer's part that he is turning into a *Witiko*, a supernatural being with heart of ice. Both concepts are attributable to the economic and environmental conditions under which the Cree live.
- COX, IAN. *Eskimo remains on Akpatok Island, north-east Canada* (Man, XXXIII, April, 1933, 57-61). Akpatok Island in Ungava Bay appears to have been avoided by the Eskimo for several generations as being, in some way, accursed; archaeological specimens found on it show resemblances both to the Eastern and Central types of Eskimo culture.
- DARBY, GEORGE E. *Indian medicine in British Columbia* (Canadian Medical Association journal, XXVIII (4), April, 1933, 433-8).
- DELORIA, ELLA. *Dakota texts*. (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, XIV.) New York: G. E. Stechert and Co., agents. 1932. Pp. xvi, 279. This important collection comprises sixty-three Teton-Dakota (Sioux) tales, together with a single example in the Yankton dialect. In each case the text is recorded in the native language, accompanied by a translation into English with grammatical notes. It is a publication of major importance to anyone interested in the linguistics as well as the mythology of this important Plains tribe.
- DIXON, ROLAND B. *Tobacco chewing on the Northwest coast* (American anthropologist, XXXV (1), Jan.-March, 1933, 146-50). The alleged chewing of tobacco with lime by the Haida and Tlingit of northern British Columbia has been used by diffusionists as evidence of trans-Pacific culture contact. Investigation throws doubt on the fact; the plant was probably not a tobacco at all, though its identification remains obscure.
- DOUGLAS, FREDERIC H. *American Indian tobacco: varieties, cultivation, methods of use*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet no. 22.) Denver: April, 1931. Pp. 4.
- *The Blackfoot Indians*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflets no. 37-8.) Denver: Dec., 1931. Pp. 8.
- *Iroquois foods*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet no. 26.) Denver: June, 1931. Pp. 4.
- *The Iroquois long house*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet no. 12.) Denver: Oct., 1931. Pp. 4.
- *The Ojibwa or Chippewa Indians*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet no. 36.) Denver: Nov., 1931. Pp. 4.
- EDWARDS, EVERETT E. *Agriculture of the American Indians*. (United States Department of Agriculture, Bibliographical contributions, no. 23.) Washington, D.C.: 1932. Pp. 89.
- FINNIE, RICHARD. *An Arctic sled journey* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (2), Feb., 1933, pp. 56-67). This account of a winter expedition on the shore of Coronation Gulf contains a good account of igloo building, as well as a number of illustrations of Eskimo.

- FREUCHEN, I. *Einige untersuchungen über bluttypen bei Grönländern und betrachtung von deren anthropologischer bedeutung* (Hospitalstidende, Copenhagen, LXXIV (23), 1931, 663-71).
- GATES, R. RUGGLES. *British Columbia coastal Indians—their blood groups and physiognomy* (summary) (Man, XXXIII, Dec., 1933, 109). In spite of much recent racial admixture, a study of the blood groups of three hundred British Columbia Coastal Indians shows an overwhelming preponderance of group O, as is the case among the Indians in other parts of the continent.
- GODENRATH, PERCY F. (comp.). *Catalogue of the Manoir Richelieu collection of North American Indians, 1830-40*. Foreword by DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT. Montreal: Canada Steamship Lines. 1932.
- GUTHE, CARL E. (ed.). *Archaeological field work in North America during 1932* (American anthropologist, XXXV (3), July-Sept., 1933, 483-511). The National Research Council's annual summary of archaeological field-work includes statements concerning excavations in Alaska; no investigations seem to have been carried on in Canada.
- HANSEN, SOREN. *The Eskimo race-problem* (Annaes do XX Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, Rio de Janeiro, 1922, II, part I, Rio de Janeiro, 1928, 11-5). The Eskimo are a modified branch of the main American Indian race, their peculiar head form being due to the great development of the masticatory muscles. The Indians themselves are a specialized branch of the great Eurasiatic-American human stock.
- HEWITT, J. N. B. *Field-work among the Iroquois Indians of New York and Canada* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1932: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3213), 1933, 81-4). The fundamental unit of Iroquois society was the uterine family, the group which functioned as a unit in such matters as blood-feud. With its decay, the whole rôle of the clan became meaningless and to-day the political mechanism of Iroquois society has become inoperative.
- *Status of woman in Iroquois polity before 1784* (Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1932: Washington, 1933, 475-88). This detailed study of the rôle of women among the Iroquois brings out very clearly the fact that all vital social groupings centred around them, while in their hands rested the major responsibility for the selection of political leaders. In their personal relations, the Iroquois women occupied a position of prestige and were treated with considerable respect.
- HILL-TOU, CHAS. *Monuments of the past in British Columbia*. (Museum and art notes, VII, supplement 5.) Vancouver: Art, Historical and Scientific Association. June, 1933. Pp. 4. This is a brief, illustrated description of prehistoric burial mounds in southern British Columbia.
- HINSDALE, W. B. *Distribution of the aboriginal population of Michigan*. (Occasional contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 2.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press. 1932. Pp. vi, 35. The distribution of the aboriginal population of Michigan, as indicated by archaeological sites, was based upon ecological conditions; of major importance were the ranges of wild rice and of the sugar maple, of fish-filled streams, and of land adapted to the growing of corn.
- HOUGH, WALTER. *Northwest coast spliced harpoon shafts* (American anthropologist, XXXV (1), Jan.-March, 1933, 204). The splicing of yew whaling harpoons, with scarfing of the joint is a somewhat elaborate carpentry technique formerly practised by the Indians of the North-west coast.

HRDLICKA, ALES. *Anthropological explorations on Kodiak Island, Alaska* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1932: Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3213), 1933, 41-4). Archaeological investigations show that Kodiak Island must have been one of the centres of aboriginal population in Alaska, and that it was occupied successively by two Eskimo types, having slightly different physical characteristics.

*The Eskimo of the Kuskokwim* (American journal of physical anthropology, XVIII(1), July-Sept., 1933, 93-145). Measurements of and observations on 182 fullblood Eskimo males of the Kuskokwim indicate minor differences between the inhabitants of the upper and lower valley, but show the population to belong, basically, to the same Eskimo branch.

*Man's antiquity in America* (Annacs do xx Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, Rio de Janeiro, 1922, II, part I, Rio de Janeiro, 1928, 57-61). Critical examination of allegedly ancient skeletal remains found in various parts of America merely confirm the author's previous view that the ancestors of the Indian reached this continent only in post-glacial times.

INGSTAD, HELGE. *Pelsjegerliv blandt Nord-Kanadas Indianere*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag. 1931. Pp. 245.

JEANÇON, JEAN ALLARD and DOUGLAS, FREDERIC H. *Iroquoian and Algonkin wampum; manufacture and uses*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet no. 31.) Denver: Sept., 1931. Pp. 4.

*North American Plains Indians hide dressing and bead sewing techniques*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet no. 2.) Denver: September, 1931. Pp. 3.

*The Plains Indian tipi*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflet no. 21.) Denver: April, 1931. Pp. 4.

JENNESS, DIAMOND (ed.). *The American aborigines, their origin and antiquity: A collection of papers by ten authors*. (Published for presentation at the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Canada, 1933.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1933. Pp. 396. To be reviewed later.

*Fifty years of archaeology in Canada* (Royal Society of Canada: Fifty years retrospect: Anniversary volume 1882-1932, 71-6). Due in part to the absence of spectacular sites, and in part to concentration upon ethnological investigations among living Indians, archaeological investigations in Canada have lagged. In recent years, however, work in the various provinces has extended backwards our knowledge of Indian movements, while studies of stratified Eskimo deposits have shed considerable light on early history in the Arctic.

*An Indian method of treating hysteria* (Primitive man, VI (1), Jan., 1933, 13-20). Among the Carrier Indians of northern British Columbia, hysteria, due to auto-suggestion and mental instability, is not uncommon. Its treatment consists in stimulating the patient's belief, followed by inducing him to dance; the rhythmic motion and association with others moving in unison gradually draws him away from his own thoughts. Although based on irrational grounds, this practice is, in fact, distinctly advantageous.

*The Indians of Canada*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 65.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1932. Pp. x, 446; 132 illustrations, 1 map. To be reviewed later.

KERMODE, FRANCIS. *Accessions: Anthropology and archaeology* (Province of British Columbia: Report of the Provincial Museum of Natural History for the year 1931: Victoria, 1933, 9-10). This list of accessions includes the tribal origin and a brief description of each article.

KIDD, GEO. E. *Report on collection of B.C. Indian skulls in the Vancouver City Museum*. (Museum and art notes, VII, supplement 4.) Vancouver: Art, Historical and Scientific Association. June, 1933. Pp. 8 (mimeographed). This paper comprises a report on forty-nine British Columbia Indian crania, including general descriptions as well as maximum, minimum, and average measurements.

- KIDD, GEO. E. and DARBY, G. E. *The teeth of the Pacific coast Indian*. (Museum and art notes, VII, supplement 3.) Vancouver: Art, Historical and Scientific Association. June, 1933. Pp. 3 (mimeographed). Teeth found among the skeletal remains of prehistoric Indian sites in British Columbia show little caries or other dental disease; the teeth of the modern Indians, however, are badly decayed, due, perhaps, to an increase in cereal diet.
- KÖNIG, HERBERT. *Bemerkungen zur theorie über die japanische beeinflussung der Eskimos* (Anthropos, XXVIII (1-2), 1933, 192-3). In 1916 the Danish anthropologist, Steensby, advanced the theory of Japanese cultural and racial influence upon the Eskimo. Further consideration of his data does not support his views, although there are curious linguistic parallels between Japanese and the Eskimo dialect of the Kuskokwim River, Alaska.
- KUNIKE, H. *Der verlorene knabe: Ein märchen der Onondaga-Indianer* (Erdball, III, 1929, 67-71).
- Der werwolf: *Ein märchen der Blackfoot-Indianer* (Erdball, IV, 1930, 469-71).
- LAGUNA, FREDERICA DE. *A comparison of Eskimo and Palaeolithic art* (American journal of archaeology, XXXVI (4), Oct.-Dec., 1932, 477-511, 5 plates, and *ibid.*, XXXVII (1), Jan.-March, 1933, 77-107, 7 plates). The derivation of the Eskimo, both biologically and culturally, from Palaeolithic man, is an old hypothesis, put forward on the evidence of physical characteristics, culture, and art. A detailed comparison of this last subject shows no convincing analogies between the artistic styles of Palaeolithic Europe and of the Eskimo, in fact, deep-seated differences; it is possible, however, that archaeological investigations in Siberia will make clear Eskimo cultural developments and will bring to light early similarities with the Magdalenian Age.
- Mummified heads from Alaska (American anthropologist, XXXV (4), Oct.-Dec., 1933, 742-4). Near Petersburg, Alaska, in the country of the Tlingit, there was recently found a rock crevice containing several burial boxes and two smoked heads; one of these was decorated with a labret and the cheeks had been padded out with sticks.
- LARZELERE, CLAUDE S. *The red man in Michigan* (Michigan history magazine, XVII (3-4), summer and autumn, 1933, 344-76). This summary account of the Indian tribes of Michigan (Huron, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Ojibway), together with the principal incidents in the history of their contact with the white man and with the Iroquois, serves to elucidate various points in the early history of western Ontario.
- LEESON, B. W. *A Quatsino legend* (Canadian geographical journal, VII (1), July, 1933, 23-39). This is a brief legend of the Quatsino, resident in the north-western part of Vancouver Island, which explains the origin of certain physical peculiarities said to have been common in that area. The article is well illustrated.
- LUGRIN, N. de BERTRAND. *Indian saga: Heroic tales from the golden age of the Indian's supremacy on the west coast* (Maclean's magazine, Dec. 15, 1932, 21-2, 38-9).
- MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *Contributions to the physiography of Southampton Island*. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-4, I (2).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1931. Pp. 31; 5 illustrations, 1 map. An account of the geography, climate, flora, and fauna of Southampton Island as noted while living and working among the Eskimo.
- MICHELSON, TRUMAN. *The linguistic classification of Tête de Boule* (American anthropologist, XXXV (2), April-June, 1933, 396). A study of morphology and phonology indicates that the language of the Tête de Boule is closely related to Cree, and does not belong to the Algonquin-Ojibwa group.
- MORICE, A. G. *Carrier onomatology* (American anthropologist, XXXV (4), Oct.-Dec., 1933, 632-58). Upon analysis, the personal, hereditary, and geographical names of the Carrier, an Athabaskan tribe of British Columbia, throw much light upon the point of view of the natives in regard to selection, significance, and interest; they also illustrate the influence of mythology upon personal designations, as well as the grammatical processes involved in the formation of designations.

- NEUMANN, GERHARDT. *Die genossenschaftliche gesellschaftsform der nordamerikanischen Indianer* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, LXIV (4-6), 1932, 263-319). This is an elaborate, though not exhaustive, objective description of the social organization of the Indian tribes of North America, with a theoretical discussion on the factors responsible for the development of certain units and for their functions.
- NICOLLE, CHARLES. *Un argument d'ordre médical en faveur de l'opinion de Paul Rivet sur l'origine océanienne de certaines tribus indiennes du nouveau monde* (Journal de la Société des Americanistes, XXIV (2), 1932, 225-9). A study of the world-wide distribution of varieties of typhus supports the thesis of trans-Pacific influences upon parts of America in pre-Columbian times.
- OBERMAIER, HUGO. *Die altweltlichen paläolithypen und die prähistorische chronologie Amerikas* (Wiener prähistorische zeitschrift, XIX, 1932, 3-8). In America tools have been found similar in form to all the types of the Palaeolithic Age in Europe, but not in stratified deposits and, in fact, from sites of the same age. Accordingly, they cannot be correlated with Old World Pleistocene cultures, and give no support to the thesis that man reached America before the close of the Ice Age.
- OETTING, BRUNO. *On morphological changes in artificially deformed skulls from the north Pacific coast* (Annaes do xx Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, Rio de Janeiro, 1922, II, part I, Rio de Janeiro, 1928, 25-35). Cranial deformation as practised by the Indians of British Columbia raises difficulties in the way of comparisons between deformed and undeformed skulls, and also offers interesting studies in the effect of deformation on the morphology of the parts affected.
- OLSON, RONALD L. *Clan and moiety in native America* (University of California publications in American archaeology and ethnology, XXXIII (4), 1933, 351-422). This exhaustive survey of unilateral, exogamous divisions in the two Americas leads to the conclusion that there are basic resemblances in New World clan and moiety organizations, and that the two types of social organization are themselves genetically related.
- PACIFIQUE, PÈRE. *Le pays des Micmacs: The Micmac country* (Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Québec, XXVIII (1-2), janv., 1934, 105-47). This final section of the author's work on Micmac place-names gives the native designations and translations of many localities in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.
- RASMUSSEN, KNUD. *Observations on the intellectual culture of the Caribou Eskimos*. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-4, VII (2).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1930. Pp. 116. To be reviewed later.
- RINGLAND, MABEL CREWS. *Indian handicrafts of Algoma* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (4), April, 1933, 185-201). Ojibway art and artifacts have, on the whole, sadly degenerated since contact with Europeans. This article describes the survival of a number of the old techniques and motifs, often greatly influenced by introduced designs.
- SAINDON, J. E. *Mental disorders among the James Bay Cree* (Primitive man, VI (1), Jan., 1933, 1-12). The Cree Indians are peculiarly susceptible to hallucinations which often produce serious physical disorders. A belief in the nearness and potency of supernatural beings, combined with lack of mental discipline, appears to be the principal cause; case histories show that the intelligent use of the power of suggestion is often an effective remedy.
- SHAW, R. W. *The Indian in our literature* (Ontario library review, XVII (2), May, 1933, 52-6). From the days of the early French explorers, the Indian of Ontario has been a favourite subject for the historian, the poet, and the novelist; this article outlines some of the principal works dealing with the aborigines of the province.

- SMITH, HURON H. *Ethnobotany of the Forest Potawatomi Indians* (Bulletin of the Public Museum of the city of Milwaukee, VII (1), May, 1933, 1-230). The Forest Potawatomi of northern Wisconsin are a woodland-dwelling Algonkian tribe nearly related to the Ojibway of western Ontario whom they closely resemble in mode of life. Plants are used extensively for food, medicine, and utilitarian purposes; in this report the plants are listed botanically with descriptions of the ways in which they are utilized.
- SOPER, J. DEWEY. *Solitudes of the Arctic* (Canadian geographical journal, VII (3), Sept., 1933, 102-15). This description of Baffin Island contains a few facts about the Eskimo, as well as a number of excellent photographs.
- SPECK, FRANK G. *Ethical attributes of the Labrador Indians* (American anthropologist, XXXV (4), Oct.-Dec., 1933, 559-94). The Naskapi-Montagnais, most northeasterly of the Algonkian tribes, are an excellent example of a simple community in which public opinion is the guiding force in personal behaviour. Based on reminiscences of many years, the author discusses and illustrates their attitude in various moral and ethical matters.
- STERN, BERNHARD J. (ed.). *The letters of Asher Wright to Lewis Henry Morgan* (American anthropologist, XXXV (1), Jan.-March, 1933, 138-45). When Morgan was preparing his *Ancient society*, one of his correspondents was the Reverend Asher Wright, then, 1874, living on the Iroquois reservation at Cattaraugus, New York State. The letters here published for the first time supplement the data used by Morgan with reference to Seneca customs.
- STEWART, T. D. *The tympanic plate and external auditory meatus in the Eskimo* (American journal of physical anthropology, XVII (4), April-June, 1933, 481-96). A study of Eskimo crania in comparison with those of California Indians indicates that a thickening of the tympanic plate, with consequent distortion of the external auditory meatus, is an hereditary characteristic among the Eskimo.
- STICKER, M. *Europäische krankheiten und aussterben der Indianer* (Ibero-Amerikanisches archiv, V, 1932, 62-83 and 194-224). The three most deadly diseases introduced to America by Europeans were small-pox, cerebro-spinal meningitis, and syphilis; these three reduced the native population more than did actual conflict with the white man.
- SUK, V. *On the question of human races on the basis of the precipitin test and isoagglutinations* (Práce Moravské Přírodovědecké Společnosti, VIII (4), 1933, 1-42). Serological investigations of various human groups, including the Eskimo, indicate the relatively small number of the basic varieties of mankind.
- THOMPSON, STITH (ed.). *Tales of the North American Indians*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp. xxiii, 386; 1 map. Reviewed in vol. XIV, pp. 218-9.
- WEYER, EDWARD MOFFAT, JR. *The Eskimos*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. xviii, 491; 4 maps. To be reviewed later.

